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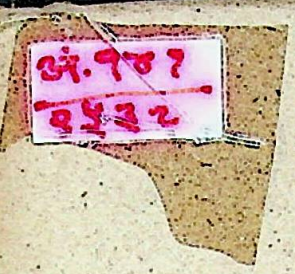

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ग्रन्थ नाम STUDIES IN JAIAA ART
लेखक Umakant P. Shah

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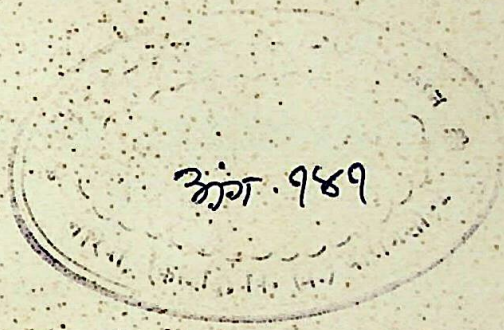

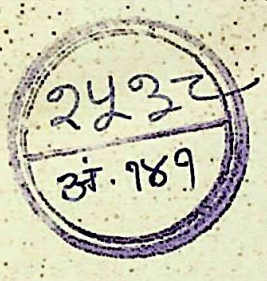

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STUDIES IN JAINA ART

by

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The M. S. University of Baroda.

JAINA CULTURAL RESEARCH SOCIETY
BANARAS 5 (INDIA)
1955

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December, 1955.

1000 copies.

Price Rupees Ten

Printed by Shri Ramanlal J. Patel, Manager, M. S. University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Raopura, Baroda; plates printed by Kumar Karyalaya Limited, Ahmedabad, and Published by Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malvaniya, Hony. Secretary, Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras, 5. (14-2-1956)

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To
The Sacred Memory
of
My Father

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PREFACE

Sheth Śri Bholabhai Dalal and Sheth Śri Premchand K. Kotawala, the trustees of Śri Poonamchand K. Kotawala Trust kindly decided to donate, from the above Trust, an annual grant of Rupees Two Thousand to the Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras. This sum is being utilised in inviting different scholars to deliver lectures, in the Banaras Hindu University, on any aspect of Jainology (Jaina studies) and publishing such lectures. Accordingly, I invited Dr. Umakant Shah, who had submitted his Doctorate Thesis on Jain Iconography, to deliver lectures on Jaina Art. He was generous in accepting the invitation and kindly co-operated by agreeing to deliver three lectures on Jaina Art.

These lectures were delivered in the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Vasudeva Sarana Agrawala, on 11th, 12th, and 15th March, 1954. They are printed here with slight changes as " Studies in Jaina Art ".

In his first lecture, Dr. Shah has attempted a critical survey of the Jaina Art in North India, *i.e.*, in the regions North of the Vindhyas, such as Punjab, Sindh, Kachchha, Saurashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār, Bengal, Orissa etc., and even parts of the Deccan in the Bombay State. In his survey he has referred to all important known cave-temples, shrines, sculptures, paintings, etc. He has surveyed antiquities dating from earliest times to about the fifteenth cenrury A.D. Here he has discussed specimens of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects of the Jainas.

Dr. Umakant's predecessors in the field of Jaina Art Studies, namely, Cunnigham, Fergusson, Burgess, Buhler, Smith, Vogel, D. R. Bhandarkar, Coomaraswamy, Motichandra, V. S. Agrawala, Ramachandran, W. Norman Brown, Sankalia, B. C. Bhattacharya and others have written on several different aspects of Jaina Art, but Dr. Shah has for the first time attempted here to give a comprehensive review of the whole field in an admirably brief and critical way. From this attempt we obtain a consolidated view of Arts as patronised by the Jainas in North India.

I would like to draw the attention of scholars to one important point brought to our notice by Dr. Shah in this review (and in his other published papers), namely, the contribution in Art of the School of Ancient West that flourished in Western India during the post-Gupta age. This survey further helps us to visualise the spread of Jainism, which had its birth in Magadha, to different parts of India in different ages and to know how and when it was almost wiped out from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. This study of available archaeological remains of the Jaina Sect will help historians to form a correct idea of the vicissitudes through which Jainism passed in its march through the ages in different parts of India and will especially help us to find out when and where

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the Śvetāmbara or the Digambara sect had grown powerful.

The subject of his second and third lectures is Symbol Worship in Jainism. Here Dr. Shah has first of all reviewed the growth of the conception of the word Caitya in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina traditions. He then discusses the meaning and spread of the worship of the Stūpa, Stambha, the Caitya-Vṛkṣa, Āyāgapaṭa, Samavasaraṇa, Siddha-Cakra, Svapna, Aṣṭamaṅgala, Sthāpanā etc., as also of Aṣṭāpada, Sammeta-Śikhara, Pañca-Meru, Nandīśvara-dvīpa etc. It is needless to say that this subject is being discussed here for the first time so comprehensively with a historical outlook and a reference to all the noteworthy symbols so far as Jaina Art and Worship are concerned.

His third lecture was illustrated by projected photographs of the subjects discussed in all the lectures. Along with these, he showed some interesting specimens of the School of Ancient West including those of the Jaina bronzes from Akoṭā and Vasantagaḍh hoards. For some years past, Dr. Shah has been making a study of this Art School whose existence was known only from the reference of Tārānāth but was not proved hitherto with references to archaeological remains. This was very interesting in as much as his studies have thrown new light on the history of Art in Northern and Western India. This part of his lecture is not printed in this book but some results of his studies in this field are incorporated in the first lecture.

I must express my thanks to Dr. Umakant, on behalf of the Jaina Cultural Research Society, for agreeing to come to Banaras inspite of his indifferent health and delivering such stimulating discourses. He also undertook to see the book through the press and supplied all the photographs illustrating the different aspects of Jaina Art.

I am also grateful to Dr. Vasudeva Sarana Agrawala for kindly consenting to preside over all the three lectures, to Dr. Rajabali Pandey, of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, for the kindness in providing the society with facilities to arrange lectures in the above College, through the Bhāratīya Pariṣad, and finally to the Trustees of Śri Poonamchand K. Kotawala Trust (Sheth Śri Bholabhai Dalal and Sheth Śri Premchand K. Kotawala) through whose munificence it has been possible to arrange and publish these lectures.

Śri Balabhai Desai of Ahmedabad has kindly helped us in the preparation of the blocks, and Śri Bachubhai Ravat of Kumār Kāryālaya, Ahmedabad kindly consented to print the plates. To the Manager, the M. S. University Press, Baroda, I am especially thankful for rushing the book through the Press inspite of heavy pressure of work.

Banaras, 5.
1-11-1955

DALSUKH MALAVANIYA
Secretary,
Jaina Cultural Research Society.

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CONTENTS

I A Brief Survey of Jaina Art In the North 1-35

II Symbol Worship In Jainism 39-121

1 Introductory 39-41

2 Caitya, Stūpa, Stambha 43-64

3 Caitya-Vṛkṣas 65-76

4 Āyāgapaṭas 77-84

5 Samavasaraṇa 85-95

6 Siddha-Cakra or Nava-Devatā 97-103

7 Auspicious Dreams 105-108

8 Aṣṭamaṅgala 109-112

9 Sthāpanā and other Symbols 113-115

10 Aṣṭāpada, Sammeta-Śikhara and Pañca Meru 116-118

11 Nandīśvara-Dvīpa 119-121

Appendix—Note on Stūpa, Samavasaraṇa and Ziggurat .. 123-130

Bibliography 131-142

Index 143-164

Plates

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am thankful to the Director-General of Archaeology in India for his kind permission to obtain photographs from various circles and museums in India, throughout my studies in Jaina Art and Iconography as also to the Superintendents of all the circles of the Department of Archaeology and the curators of the various museums in India and outside who have extended their co-operation. For the photographs reproduced here, I must gratefully acknowledge the Copyright and Courtesy of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi for figures 1, 4, 7, 41, 51, 52, 81, 82; the Epigraphist to the Government of India, for fig. 72; the Department of Archaeology, old Gwalior State for figures 24, 61, 62, 74; Curator, Madras Museum for fig. 77, Curator, Patna Museum for figures 2, 15, 17, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for figures 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 14A, 16, 88; the Curator, Indian Museum, Calcutta, for figures 18, 23, 36, 42, 44; the Curator, Mathurā Museum, for figures 25, 26, 27, 67 and 14B; the Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay for figures 3, 29; the Curator, British Museum, London for figure 35; the Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, for figures 37, 38; the Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Patna, for figures 28, 41; Shri Jagan Mehta, Ahmedabad for figures 30, 32, 55, 57, 58, 65, 66; Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur for figure 63.

I am also thankful to Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji for his kind co-operation and guidance throughout my studies and for the facilities provided by him in taking photographs from different Jaina Bhaṇḍāras and for loan of Manuscripts, to Dr. A. N. Upadhye of Kolhapur whom I could always refer to for elucidations of problems connected with Digambara Sect; to my friends and colleagues Śrī J. S. Pade-shastri, M.A. and Śrī Pandit M. R. Nambiyar, of the Oriental Institute for checking certain references etc., to Dr. Y. J. Tripathi for preparing part of the Index, and to the Manager, M. S. University Press, Baroda, for excellent printing.

I am especially grateful to Pandit Śrī Sukhalālji and Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malvaṇiā who took keen interest in these Studies and invited me to deliver the lectures.

UMAKANT P. SHAH.

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Studies In Jaina Art

I

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I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF JAINA ART IN THE NORTH

Jainism is a living faith in India and its followers have spread over all parts from very early times. A study of Jain antiquities scattered over extensively in the North as well as in the South is therefore indispensable for the reconstruction of India's Cultural History. No attempt has yet been made to give a connected account of these finds. The subject is both vast and intricate and cannot be given full justice in a small review. Here only a critical outline of some of the more noteworthy specimens is attempted from Jain sites in North India including all states north of the Vindhyas, parts of the Deccan, almost the whole of Madhya Pradesha and Orissa. Of these no definite evidence is available of any Jain remains in Assam, Burma, Kashmīr, Nepāl, Bhūtān and Tibet while Kutcch in the West has yielded a few vestiges of the mediæval period.

It must be remembered that classification of arts on sectarian basis does not stand to reason, for no art is entirely Jaina, Buddhist or Hindu. The same artists who worked for one sect, were employed also by other sects in any particular unit of time and space. So, when we talk of Jaina Art we discuss art specimens created under the patronage of followers of the Jaina Faith, for do we not find identical art style in the Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu specimens of the Kuṣāna period obtained from Mathurā?

Pre-Historic Period

Pre-historic sites in India do not lend any definite clue to the existence of Jainism. A few seals from Mohen-jo-Dāro showing human figures standing in a posture closely analogous to the free standing meditative pose (kāyotsarga mudrā) of the Jinas, [1] or the seal representing a male divinity seated in meditation, the prototype of Śiva [2], corresponding with later Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical sculptures in such postures, cannot, in the present state of uncertainty of the reading of the Indus-valley script, be definitely used as attesting to the Pre-historic antiquity of Jaina art or ritual. Jaina traditions

[1] Marshall, *Mohen-jo-Dāro and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, I, pl. xii. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22. Ramaprasad Chanda, in Modern Review, August 1932, pp. 152 ff.

[2] Marshall, *op. cit.*, xii. 17, 52 ff.

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certainly ascribe to their first twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras, a period covering millions of years B.C., but such tales are not acceptable to a modern historian. Neminātha, the twenty-third Jina, was a brother (cousin) of Kṛṣṇa, but further evidence is necessary before connecting him with any Pre-historic finds. The mutilated red-stone statuette from Harappā[1] (Figure 1) assigned to the Chalcolithic age is surprisingly analogous in style to the Mauryan torso of a Jina figure from Lohānipur, Bihār, (Fig. 2) but has in addition two large circular depressions on shoulder-fronts unlike any Jaina sculpture discovered hitherto. Very probably it represents some ancient Yakṣa. However, the close similarity in styles of the two finds, establishes the continuity of Indian art down to the Mauryan age, and at once undermines older conceptions regarding the origin of the Buddha image (and consequently the Jina figure) in Central India from the model supplied by the Indo-Hellenic school of Gandhāra.

Mauryan and Śuṅga Periods

I have elsewhere[2] discussed the tradition of Jīvantasvāmi Image worshipped at Vidiśā and Vītabhaya-pattana, from ancient works like the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī, the Niśītha Cūrṇī and the Vasudevahiṇḍi. I have also shown that a sandal-wood portrait sculpture was carved in the life-time of Mahāvīra when he was meditating in his palace, about a year prior to his renunciation The statue came in possession of Uddāyaṇa of Sindhu-Sauvīra[3] from whom King Pradyota of Ujjain carried it off after depositing an exact wooden copy at Vītabhaya-pattana. The copy was later on burried in a sand-storm which wrought the destruction of the whole city. Kumārapāla got it excavated and brought it to Aṇahilavāḍa-Pāṭaṇ according to contemporary evidence of the great scholiast and saint Hemacandrācārya.

The tradition of Jīvantasvāmi images (*i. e.* images of Mahāvīra standing in meditation with a crown and ornaments on his person) started with the popularity of the original sandal-wood image carried off by Pradyota and deposited at Vidiśā (Bhelsā) in his territory. The existence of this tradition known only from literature was recently supported by the find of a bronze of Jīvantasvāmi from Akoṭā, with an inscription on its pedestal in characters of c. 550 A. D., expressly calling it an image of Jīvantasvāmi (Fig. 22). Another bronze of the same iconographic type, more beautiful and older,[4] but with the pedestal lost, is also obtained in this hoard (Figs. 20-21). We have, therefore,

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[1] *Ibid.* x. a-d.

[2] Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 72 ff. and Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 358 ff.

[3] For Sauvīra, see, Agrawal V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 37, 40, 50.

[4] Shah Umakant P., *A Note on the Akoṭā Hoard of Jaina Bronzes*, published as Appendix IV in *Baroda Through The Ages*, pp. 97 ff. esp. see pp. 99-100.

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reason to believe that the tradition of a life-time sandal-wood image of Mahāvīra is reliable.

That the Jina-Image was in worship in the Mauryan Age is evidenced by the find of the highly polished torso of a Jina Image from Lohānipur near Patnā and this further lends support to the view that an image of Mahāvīra was carved in his life-time.

The Jina Image, as I have suggested recently in my discussion on "Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature" has for its model the ancient Yakṣa statues.[1] I have also suggested that the mode of worship in the Yakṣa-cult has largely influenced the worship in Jainism. The close similarity of the Jina and the Buddha image, and the fact that both Jainism and Buddhism are heterodox cults which protested against the Vedic Brahmanical priestly cult shows that Buddhism could easily have been influenced by the worship of the Yakṣa and the Jina Images.

That the earliest image of Buddha hails from Gandhāra is a mere accident as suggested by Kramrisch[2] and does not preclude the possibility of another earlier image being discovered in the land of Buddha's birth, as a product of the Native Indian School of Art. Jayaswal's discovery of a Mauryan torso of a Jina figure from Lohānipur (fig. 2)[3] proves on the one hand the authenticity of Jaina traditions on image worship and on the other hand the existence in Magadha of an earlier model for Jina images of early Christian centuries. With the models and traditions of Yakṣa-worship already existing, the Magadhan artists had no need to look outside for inspiration ; there is an equal chance of the case being quite the reverse, and Gandhāra could have followed the Magadhan conception. The Jina image definitely preceded the Buddha image as a cult-object.

Lohānipur is a continuation of the Mauryan sites at Kumrahar and Bulandibāg near Patnā. Along with this highly polished torso were revealed from the foundations of a square temple (8′10″ × 8′10″) a large quantity of Mauryan bricks, a worn silver punch-marked coin and another unpolished later torso of a Jina in the kāyotsarga pose. Evidently, both the torsoes represented some Tīrthaṅkaras and the foundations are the earliest known site of a Jaina

[1] Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. III, no. 1, pp. 55-71 esp. see p. 66. The truth of my statement would be obvious to any one who compares the Lohānipur torso with the ancient Yakṣa statues.

[2] Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 40. Also see Shah, U. P., in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 358-368.

[3] Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXIII. 1, pl. i-iv. The second torso probably belongs to the Gupta period according to Banerji-Shastri in a subsequent issue of the same Journal (vide Vol. XXVI. 2. 120 ff.)

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temple. A mutilated head of the Mauryan period, discovered by Banerjī-Shastri from the same site probably belonged to another Jaina sculpture.[1]

Of the Mauryan age, no other Jaina relic is known[2] except a group of caves in Barābara and Nāgārjuni hills,[3] Bihār, dedicated by Aśoka and Daśaratha for the use of Ājīvika sect whose leader, Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla, was once a disciple and later a great rival of Mahāvīra. The Mauryan ruler Samprati is hailed by traditions as a great patron of the Jainas and builder of numerous (Jaina) temples.[4] No archæological evidence is however available today.

Of the Śuṅga period, the only noteworthy Jaina relics are two groups of caves on the Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri hills in Orissa.[5] The Hāthigumphā, on the former, is a natural cavern with a long inscription of King Khāravela of the Cheṭa or Cheti (Chedi) dynasty. Opinions are divided regarding the date of the record and the earlier reading showing that the 13th year of Khāravela's reign coincided with the 164th year of the Mauryan era has been ultimately discarded. But the inscription is generally assigned to c. 150 B. C. on grounds of palæography. Khāravela followed Jainism since his record opens with adoration to the Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras) and the Siddhas (liberated souls). The record shows that he invaded Magadha and brought back the statue (or the seat) of the Kaliṅga Jina carried away by the Nanda King. Along with his queen, Khāravela provided shelters for Jaina monks at the Relic Depository of the Arhats on the Kumārī (Udayagiri) hill, erected many pillars and repaired old temples.[6]

Both the groups of caves were excavated and for many years tenanted by the Jainas as shown by the inscriptions and reliefs in the Navamuni, Bāra-

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[1] Banerji-Shastri, *Mauryan Sculptures from Lohānipur-Patnā*, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXVI. 2. 120 ff.

[2] A fragmentary inscription found by Mahāmahopādhyaya G. H. Oza, from Bārlī (Ajmer District) refers to *majjhamikā* (Mādhyamikā), modern Nagarī near Chitor, and the year 84 of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa. See Indian Antiquary, LVIII.229. But the reading Vīrāt or Vīrāya is disputable, see, Sarkar, D. C., *Bārlī Fragmentary Stone Inscription*, JBORS. Vol. 37, March 1951.

[3] Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Bihar and Orissa Provinces (1938), 33 ff.*

[4] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, Vol. III, gāthās 3285-89, pp. 917-21.

[5] Rajendralāl Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, 2 volumes. Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-283.

[6] B. M. Barua, *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves* (1929). Reference to all earlier interpretations and readings will be found in this work. Barua revised his readings in *Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV* (1938), pp. 459-485. The new reading makes no mention of Kalinga Jina (statue).

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bhuji and the Triśūla caves. To these sectarian differences are due, as shown by Marshall, many distinctive features of architecture, including among others, the entire absence of Caitya halls. In the lower storey of the Mañchapuri cave, probably next to the Hāthigumphā in chronological order, are relief sculptures,[1] on a frieze, of poor workmanship, but in the depth of relief and plastic treatment of figures, showing a decided advance on Bhārhut. Of the other caves, the Ananta, Rāṇī and Gaṇeśa gumphās, probably date from 150 to 50 B. C. Pendiment sculptures on door-ways of Ananta cave include a four-horsed Sun-god, a tree enclosed in railing (chaitya-vṛkṣa) and a figure of the so-called Māyā-devi lustrated by two elephants. Such figures, variously recognised as Nativity of Buddha, or Gaja-Lakṣmī in Brahmanical specimens, are now correctly identified as Śrī-devī or Padmā-Śrī by Coomaraswamy and Moticandra. She is the same as the Sirimā devatā of Bhārhut railings, the Śrī of the Vedic Śrī-sūkta and one of the fourteen dreams described in the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra. Each door-way of the Ananta is adorned with a pair of three-hooded snakes on its arch. This is interesting because of the possible association of Pārśvanātha (whose association with a cobra is well known in Jaina art and literature) with Kaliṅga, as suggested in the various lives of this Jina written by monks of both the sects. According to Marshall, this cave belongs to a date not much earlier than the first century B. C., while the Rāṇī-gumphā (fig. 81), showing a further stage in the development of this rock-cut architecture, is the most spacious and elaborately carved of all Orissan caves. The façades of its cells, enriched with pillasters and highly ornate friezes, illustrate scenes like hunting of a winged deer (fig 4.), fighting, carrying off of a woman and so on, which, according to some, refer to incidents from the life of Pārśvanātha[2] who is said to have rescued and married Prabhāvatī, abducted by a Yavana ruler of Kaliṅga. Dr. Agrawala has now offered a much better explanation of the reliefs as referring to Vāsavadattā and Śakuntalā.[3] The style of friezes in the upper storey is

[1] Ramachandran, T. N., *The Mañcapuri Cave*, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXVII. 2, pp. 103-108.

[2] Shah C. J., *Jainism in North India*, p. 155. King Prasenajit, son of Narvarman, the ruler of Kuśasthala, had a beautiful daughter called Prabhāvatī who, upon hearing the virtues of Pārśvanātha, fell in love with him. Her parents agreed but kings of neighbouring states of Kaliṅga and others, desiring to have the Princess, attacked Kuśasthala and besieged it. Pārśvanātha, upon request from Prasenajit ran to his rescue, subdued the opponents and married Prabhāvatī. According to Hemcandra, the ruler of Kaliṅga was a Yavana King (vide Triṣaṣṭi, parva 9. 3.99 ff. pp. 198 ff,). It is indeed interesting to note that the snake which is a special cognizance of Pārśvanātha figures on the archways of Anantagumphā, Khaṇḍagiri, Orissa, and that two Yavana warriors are also carved in relief in the Rāṇī Gumphā, Orissa.

[3] JISOA., Vol. XIV (1946), pp. 102-109.

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original and vigorous while the modelling is tolerably correct. Of considerable interest however are figures of Yavana warrior and two burly individuals on ponderous animals, the bull-rider being strangely Assyrian in modelling and conception as a whole. The Gaṇeśa cave, repeating the same themes, shows inferior workmanship and the degeneration proceeds further in later Jaya Vijaya and Alakāpuri caves. The style appears to have no descendants in Orissa.[1]

At Pabhosā, near Kosam and Allahabad, are two caves bearing inscriptions, in characters of the Śuṅga Age, recording their dedication by Aṣāḍhasena from Ahicchatrā for the use of Kāśyapīya Arhats. It may be remembered that Mahāvīra belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra.[2] Possibly this was meant to exclude its use by followers of Pārśvanātha who seem to have existed then though in small numbers (and especially to exclude occupation by the Ājīvikas). The Mathurā stūpa, originally dating from at least the beginning of first century B.C., is treated in the next section.

A very old bronze of Pārśvanātha, standing in the Kāyotsarga pose, with the right hand and a part of his snake-hoods overhead mutilated, exists in the collections of the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay (Fig. 3). Its pedestal is lost and unfortunately there is no record of its original findspot (the bronze was acquired long ago). It bears close affinity in style with a standing terracotta figurine from Mohen-jo-Dāro.[3] The limbs are long and slim and can also be compared with the Mohen-jo-Dāro Dancing Girl.[4] The modelling of the torso, especially of the belley is closely allied to that of the Lohānipur torso discussed above and the Harappā red-stone (Yakṣa) torso. Thus the bronze belongs to the Ancient Indian art style which continued down to the Mauryan age. The physiognomy is peculiar, comparable with that of the bronze female Dancer from Mohen-jo-Dāro and a few Mauryan and early Śuṅga

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[1] Mārshall, *Cambridge History of India*, I. 638-642; see also remarks by Kramrisch in Barua's *Old Brahmi Inscriptions etc.* (op. cit.), 307 ff.; Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu*), pp. 34-37.

[2] Furhrer, A., *Pabhosā Inscriptions*, Ep. Ind., II., p. 243; Law, B.C., *Kausāmbi in Ancient Literature*, Memoir 60, Arch. Survey of India, pp. 3, 12 f. 20; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 98, 172, 175.

[3] See, Marshall, *Mohen-jo-Dāro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. III, pl. XCIV, Figs. 9, 11, pl. XCV, Figs 26-7; Mackay, *Further Excavations from Mohen-jo-Dāro*, Vol. II, pl. LXXII. Figs. 8-10, pl. LXXIII. Figs. 6, 10, 11; pl. LXXV. Figs. 1,21.

[4] Marshall, Sir John, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. XCIV. Figs. 6-8. For terracottas comparable with this bronze, see, Gordon, D.H., *Early Indian Terracottas*, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. XI.

This bronze of Pārśvanātha is discussed by this writer in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 3, pp. 63-65.

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Mother-Goddess terracottas from Mathurā, Hātharas and other sites in Northern India. Besides, this figure of Pārśvanātha bears no mark of Śrī-vatsa symbol on the chest as obtained on later sculptures.

It is difficult to assign a correct age to the bronze in absence of any record about its findspot etc., but the above mentioned stylistic relations make it certain that it cannot be later than c 100 B.C. and may be earlier by a century or two.

Kṣatrapa and Kuśāṇa Periods

Jaina traditions refer to the practice of erecting stūpas over ashes of Jinas. One stūpa existed at Vaiśāli (Basarh) dedicated to the Jina Munisuvrata[1] and another at Mathurā dedicated to Supārśvanātha. According to Jinaprabha sūri (14th century A.D.), the Mathurā stūpa was repaired in the time of Pārśvanātha (c. 800 B. C.) and renovated by Bappabhaṭṭi sūri a thousand years later.[2] Excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, which disclosed remains of two ruined temples, and a large stūpa of brickwork, yielded a veritable storehouse of Jain antiquities ranging from c. 150 B. C. to 1023 A.D., including images of Tīrthaṅkaras, toraṇas (gateways), Āyāgapaṭas (Tablets of Homage) railing pillars with reliefs of demi-gods and goddesses and a few sculptures including scenes from lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, mostly assignable to the reigns of Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsiṣka. Products of the Mathurā School of Sculpture, they offer an interesting study along with Buddhist and Brahmanical finds from other sites at Mathurā.

Of the Jaina finds, perhaps the oldest inscribed is the Āmohini Votive Tablet, followed by others including one set up by Sivayaśā[3] showing a stūpa with railing and approached through a toraṇa gateway ascended by a flight of steps (Fig. 7). Two nude dancing girls stand on the two sides of the gateway. A better view of a Jaina stūpa may however be obtained from another tablet, set up by Vasu, the daughter of Loṇaśobhikā,[4] representing a stūpa of a high cylindrical type, with a basement showing arched niches. The only other instance of such niches was obtained on a stūpa basement at Sirkap, Taxila (Śaka-Parthian period), with a double-headed eagle on one of them.[5] This led

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[1] *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (c. 676 A.D.), pp. 223-227, 567.

[2] *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, edited by Jinavijaya, pp. 17 ff.
Smith, *Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* (1901), p. 13.

[3] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 19, plate xii.

[4] Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā* (1910); pp. 184 f, pl. V; Agrawal, *JUPHS.*, XXIII (1950), pp. 69-70, has corrected the earlier reading of the inscription on this Tablet.

[5] Marshall, *Cambridge History of India*, I, 633, also see *Guide to Taxila* (3rd Ed), pl. xiii, p. 88. Dr. Motichandra, कुछ जैन अनुश्रुतियाँ और पुरातत्त्व, in Premi Abhinandana Grantha, pp. 229-249.

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Marshall to associate the Sirkap stūpa with Jaina faith but the total absence of any other Jaina relic in the whole site excavated hitherto cannot be disregarded. Jaina traditions only speak of a dharmacakra (Wheel of Law) set up by Bāhubali, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, at Taxila.[1]

In the Kuṣāṇa period, the Jainas seem to have worshipped, besides the stūpa, the caitya-tree, the dharmacakra, āyāgapaṭas, dhvaja-pillars, auspicious

[1] *A Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall, pp. 88 ff and pl. xiii. Āvaśyaka Niryukti with commentary of Haribhadra, I. 332 and pp. 144 ff.

It is said that when Ṛṣabha went to Taxila, he reached after dusk; Bāhubalī (ruling at Takṣaśilā) thought of going to pay his homage next morning and pay due respects along with his big retinue. But the Lord went away and from here, travelled through *Bahali-aḍambailla, Yonaka* and preached to the people of *Bahali*, and to *Yonakas* and *Pahlagas*. Then he went to *Aṣṭāpada* and after several years came to Purimatāla near Vinītā, where he obtained Kevalajñāna. These verses show that Takṣaśilā was probably included in the province of Bahali (Balkh-Bactria) in the age of Āvaśyaka Niryukti.

Next morning when Bāhubali came to know of the Master's departure, he felt disappointed and satisfied himself only by worshipping the spot where the Lord stood and installing an emblem—The Dharma-Cakra—over it (vide, Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, pp. 147-148). The *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and the *Paumacariyam* do not mention this account of origin of Dhamma-Cakka at Takṣaśilā, installed and worshipped by Bāhubalī.

Other writers following Marshall regard this as a proof of the Jaina tradition that Bāhubalī installed the Dharma-Cakra at Taxila. (Dr. Sukthankar in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1914 15, pp. 2 ff. and also Dr. Motichandra कुछ जैन अनुश्रुतियाँ और पुरातत्त्व, *Premi Abhinandana Grantha* (Hindi), pp. 229 ff. But it will be seen that the earliest known text referring to this tradition is *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, whose traditional date is not acceptable and that early Digambara sources do not refer to this incident. The *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, V. 5824 refers to Cakra which the commentator explains as *Uttarāpathe Dharma-cakram*. (Vol. V, p. 1536)

It would, therefore, be proper to differ any conclusions till some definitely early Jaina antiquities are excavated at Takṣaśilā, Sirkap or at a site nearby. It can only be said that sometime in the 3rd or 4th Centnry A.D., there probably was near Takṣaśilā, a Jaina site whose origin was attributed to Bāhubalī, but the Jainas do not seem to have been able to establish long standing strongholds in the North-West (Gandhāra) and Western Punjab and if at all anything existed, it was wiped out in the Hun and Muslim invasions. There did exist a sacred spot where Dharma-Cakra was worshipped, in Northern India (Uttarāpatha), which was more popular with Śvetāmbara Jainas, but whose identification with the Sirkap stūpa need not be regarded as final.

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symbols like the svastika, the Śrīvatsa mark, the full-blown lotus, a pair of fish etc., as also images of Tīrthaṅkaras in the kāyotsarga and dhyāna mudrā,[1] the goddess Sarasvatī,[2] and a few other demi-gods. All the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras are nude, showing that the difference between images of the Digambaras (sky-clad, worshipping nude images) and the Śvetāmbaras (white-robed, adoring Tīrthaṅkara figures wearing a lower garment) was posterior to the Kuṣāṇa period. Recognising symbols (*Lāñchana*) of the various Tīrthaṅkaras were not evolved and the pedestals of Jina figures contained devotional scenes of the dharmacakra usually placed with its rim to the front on a pillar. Tīrthaṅkaras were recognised with the help of inscriptions on pedestals giving their names. Scenes of the five auspicions events (*pañca-kalyāṇakas*) from the life of each Jina were carved, possibly as a decorative motif, as can be inferred from a fragment showing the goat-headed Nemesa[3] who is famous in Śvetāmbara Jaina texts for his act of transferring the embryo of Mahāvīra from a Brāhmin lady to a Kṣatriya one. Another remarkable specimen of Śuṅga period, No. J. 354, Lucknow Museum, probably represents the dance of Nīlāñjanā before King Ṛṣabha[4] (fig. 5). A Tablet of Homage was set up by Āmohinī representing Āryavatī (a respectable lady) in royal costume with an attendant holding a parasol. This Āryavatī[5] probably represents the Mother of a Jina (more likely of Mahāvīra), since parents of the Jinas received special veneration from the earliest times. Other noteworthy finds include an image of Sarasvatī, the earliest discovered representation of this goddess in India, and four-fold Jina figures (*pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā* of inscriptions) with Ādinātha, Pārśva and two other Jinas, one on each side.[6] These figures are based upon the ancient Jaina tradition of Samavasaraṇa[7] square or circular

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[1] See Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Epigraphia Indica, X, Appendix.

[2] Shah, U.P., Journal of the University of Bombay, Sept. 1941, 198 f. Fig. 1.

[3] Buhler, *Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurā*, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, 311 ff.

[4] For the story of the Dance, see C. R. Jain, *Ṛṣabhadeva*, p. 108. Agrawala V. S., Jain Antiquary, Vol. X (1944), pp. 1-5, suggests a different interpretation and identifies it as a scene of birth-celebration of Mahāvīra, but my suggestion helps us to identify the standing figures as Lokāntika gods and would seem to be more probable.

[5] Smith, *op.cit.*, pl. XIV., p. 21; Agrawala, V. S., *Guide to Lucknow* Museum, p. 14, Fig. 1.

[6] Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 46 ff. pl. xc.

[7] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Jaina Iconography*, Indian Antiquary, pp. 125-30, 153 ff.

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assemblies erected by gods for the Sermons of the Jinas, wherein, on a raised platform in the centre sits a Jina on one side with images of the same Jina installed on three remaining sides to make him visible to the whole audience. Representation of four different Jinas on the four sides, is, therefore, an advancement upon the original earlier conception of a samavasaraṇa or a Caumukha sculpture. Therefore, the Jina image-worship at Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa age was of a long standing. Even the stūpa at Mathurā was pretty old since an inscription on a Jaina pedestal of this period refers to it as the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods (*devanirmite vodve thupe*)[1], clearly indicating that its origin was forgotten in c. second century A.D. Haribhadrasūri (c. 7th century) called it devanirmita, possibly because he did not know its origin or the name of the Jina to whom it was originally dedicated;[2] only later texts like the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri ascribed it to Supārśvanātha. Probably the stūpa enshrined relics of Pārśvanātha, a historical figure, who died 250 years before Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa.

The Mathurā Art was rather primitive and the human figures are stiff and heavy. However, it was filled with a spirit of naturalism and freedom from canonical injunctions and shows, on the one hand, a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Yakṣa primitives and of Bhārhut and Sāñchī and on the other, the classical influence derived from Gandhāra. This second phase is more conspicuous in Buddhist sculpture from Mathura.

At Jūnāgaḍh, Saurāṣṭra, near Bāvā Pyārā's Maṭh, are a group of about

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[1] The inscription refers to 'Vodva Stūpa, built by Gods' which shows that in the first two centuries of the Christian era, a stūpa existed at Mathurā, which was regarded as a very ancient one and the age of its erection was forgotten. But the inscription does not make it clear that it was a stūpa dedicated to Supārśvanātha. Jinaprabha is the only writer who explicitly says so. There were in all five Stūpas at Mathurā as can be inferred from the expression Pañcāstūpānvaya used in the Pahārpur Copper plate and other sources. (vide *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report 1927-28*, pp. 107f.; Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa*, p. 497, for Pañcastūpānvaya, see Pahārpur Grant dated in S. 159 = 478 A.D.). It is however not impossible that a stūpa dedicated to this Jina also existed at Mathurā. But the finds from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā make no reference to Supārśva in any of the inscriptions and it is Pārśvanātha who is popular at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. It is therefore advisable to regard the Vodva Stūpa, built by gods as referring to a stūpa of Pārśva rather than of Supārśva. Either copyists of Jinaprabha's text or Jinaprabha himself (being so late in age) made the mistake of regarding the stūpa of Pārśvanātha as dedicated to Supārśva.

[2] Smith, *op. cit.*, 13, plate vi; *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya*, 5. 27-28; *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, V. 5824, VI. 6275; also *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* with comm. of Haribhadra, I, p. 453.

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twenty monastic cells, arranged in three lines, with a very early form of Caitya window ornament over cave B.[1] Cave F is a primitive cell, flat roofed, originally with four pillars, the back being like a semi-circular apse. Cave K in this group has two cells with carvings of the auspicious pot-and-foliage (*maṅgala-kalaśa*) and other symbols like the *śrīvatsa, svastika, bhadrāsana, mīnayugala,* etc. found on the Mathurā āyāgapaṭas. These symbols could not conclusively establish the Jaina character of these dwellings but the discovery of a mutilated inscribed slab (burried in front of cell I) of the time of the grandson of Jayadāman (Rudrasena, the son of Rudradāman), referring to those who have obtained *Kevala-jñāna* and conquered death and old age shows that at least in the second century A. D.[2] the caves were in the hands of the Jainas. The absence of any other Buddhist symbol or the stūpa is significant. It would not be wrong to suppose that the Jainas had a monastic establishment near Girnār. Other groups of early caves in Saurāṣṭra, at Taḷājā and Sānā, assigned to this period by Burgess, do not supply sufficient evidence regarding the faith to whom they were dedicated.[3] The presence of a stūpa in each of the two groups of Taḷājā and Sānā shows[4] that they probably belonged to the Buddhists since none of the well known Jaina caves in India show stūpa-worship.

Pre-Gupta and Gupta Periods

Of the so-called dark period very few antiquities have come to light. But a few Jaina bronzes from Chausā near Buxur (Bihār), now in the Patnā Museum, though of crude workmanship, are valuable since they show the continuity and extent of influence of the Mathurā School (Fig. 17); some of them show Gandhāra influence.

The cult image of the Kuṣāna period, which, in the words of Coomaraswamy, was a magnificent primitive, clumsy, passes through a gradual evolution and takes its place in architecture of the Gupta age.[5] Some of the Chausā bronzes belong to this period but the transition would be better marked when stone specimen are discovered.

To this period is assigned the Son-Bhaṇḍāra cave, Rājgir (Bihar), which has an inscription in characters of c. 1st or 2nd century A.D. stating that Muni Vairadeva, jewel among teachers and of great lustre, caused to be excavated

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[1-2-3] Burgess, *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kuchh, Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series,* II, 139 ff. Sankalia, H. D., *Archæology of Gujarat,* 47-53. *Age of Imperial Unity,* p. 418 suggests he was Dāmayasada or Rudrasiṁha I.

[4] A few more halls are reported to have been discovered recently on one side of the hill at Taḷājā, by Shri M. N. Deshpande of the Western Circle, Baroda. They are being cleaned.

[5] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* 71.

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two caves fit for residence of Jaina ascetics, with images of the Arhats (Jinas) installed therein.[1] The second cave is the so-called Vaiṣṇava cave nearby. It should be noted that these caves, meant to be rock-cut shrines fit for residence of Jaina monks, were of a very simple design. This Vairadeva seems to be the great Śvetāmbara ācārya Vajra who died in the 584th year of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa (57 A.D.)[2].

On the Vaibhāra hill, Rājgir, is a ruined temple consisting of a central chamber flanked on all sides by a row of cells and containing sculptures of the transitional age discussed below. Adjoining the east wall of and on a lower level than that of the main building is another room having, (in one of its niches,) a seated figure of Neminātha (Fig. 18) with a fragmentary inscription, in Gupta characters, referring to Chandragupta (the second)[3]. This is the earliest specimen assignable to a fairly accurate date showing the introduction of recognising symbols of Tīrthaṅkaras. In this case, the conch symbol flanks either side of the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal. But a more interesting feature of the sculpture is the figure of a young prince, beautifully carved, standing in front of the wheel which also serves the purpose of his halo. He is not Neminātha, the Prince, as was suggested earlier, but he is the *cakra-puruṣa*, a conception of the Gupta Age. On his two sides are two small Jinas seated in padmāsana, with shaven heads like the famous Buddha from Mānkuvar. Three standing figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in other niches seem to belong to circa fourth century as they retain to some extent the stiffness of shoulders of the Kuṣāna period (fig. 23). Comparable with these are two standing sculptures in the Gwalior fort, Central India, which are products of the same school of sculpture, though with local colour. Another interesting specimen of the Gupta period having two flying garland-bearers in front of the halo carved more elaborately than the plain Kuṣāna type with a scalloped border, was discovered from Besnagar, Gwalior State.[4] Two most beautiful specimens of the Gupta period, partly mutilated, are preserved in the Mathurā Museum (Nos. B 6 & B 33). Exquisite specimens of art, they (figs. 25, 26) seem to be related to the famous Banāras school of sculpture.

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[1] *Archæological Survey of India., Annual Report, 1905-06*, p. 98, 166.

[2] Shah, U. P., *Muni Vairadeva of Son Bhaṇḍāra Cave Inscription*, JBRS, December, 1953, pp. 410-412; and in *Ātmānanda-Prakāśa* (Gujarāti Monthly, Bhāvanagar), May 1953. For the age of this cave see Sarasvati S. K., in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 502 f.

[3] First published by Chanda, Ramaprasad, *A. S. I. A. R. 1925-26*, 125 ff.

[4] *Vikrama-Smriti-Aṅka* (Hindi) plate opposite page 703. For other sites in the Gwalior State see, Gadre M. B., *Archæological Museum, Gwalior* and his '*A Guide to the Archæological Museum, Gwalior*' and *Annual Reports of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State.*

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At Sārnāth, near Banāras, is preserved a figure of Ajitanāth (G. 61, Sahani's Cotalogue) rightly assigned by Sahani to the Gupta period[1]. A few more sculptures of the Gupta period are preserved in the Lucknow Museum; one of them, a headless statue of Mahāvīra, is dated in Gupta year 113, while some finer specimens are J. 104, O. 181, in this Museum and B. 7 (fig. 27) in Mathurā Museum, besides a few more in both the museums.[2]

In one of the Udayagiri caves, Gwalior State, is found an inscription recording its excavation, in G.E. 106 (reign of Kumāragupta I), with a figure of Pārśvanātha, "awe-inspiring on account of the horrible fangs of a snake carved over his head". The relief-sculpture is however lost. At Kahaon in U.P., is a free-standing pillar, dated in the Gupta year 141, with a figure of Pārśvanātha at the base and four standing Tīrthaṅkaras on the top.[3]

At Pahārpur, in Bengal, has been excavated the site of a monument with Buddhist and Brahmanical remains. Here was discovered a small figure of a Jina and a copper-plate, issued from Puṇḍravaradhana, dedicated to the worship of Arhats at the Jaina Vihāra (monastery) of Vaṭa Gohāli, headed by a monk of the Pañcha-stūpa lineage (anvaya) of Banāras. The grant is dated in the G.E. 159 = 478 A.D. The Vihāra which was thus established in the 4th century, if not earlier still, probably occupied the site of the great temple and monastery unearthed at Pahārpur.[4]

In the north-west, at Murti near Ketās (in the Gandhala valley) are situated the remains of a sanctuary and a stūpa which Stein identified with the site of Simhapur of Hieun-Tsang's description. The Chinese traveller referred to a Deva-temple and a stūpa where the white-robed ones practised rigorous austerities. A few sculptures from this site, brought to the Lahore Museum, are assigned to the Gupta period by Stein.[5]

The Deogarh temples have not been fully explored. At Deogarh fort,

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[1] The sculpture is now in the collections of Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banāras Hindu University, and antedates the Rājgir figure of Neminātha noted above.

[2] For Jaina sculpture of the Gupta age, see, Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III.* 66-68; Banerji, R. D., *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 104, 106, 108, 129 and pl. xviii; Agrawal, V. S, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, JUPHS., xiii, pp. 52 ff.

[3] See f.n. 3 on p. 15.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, XX. 59 ff. *History of Bengal*, I; p. 410.

[5] Stein A., *Archæological Reconnaissances in N.W. India and S.W. Iran* (1937), pp. 47 ff. and plates. Not a single Jaina sculpture from this site is published. A few later ones exist in Lahore Museum, but I could not obtain photographs.

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Jhānsī District, Madhya Bhārat, there are a number of loose sculptures near temple 12 (some of which were being fixed in the compound wall when this writer visited the site). A few images in this group seem to go back to the end of the Gupta period. The site of Buḍhi Chanderi in the same district is equally promising. Architecture and sculptures from both the sites deserve special studies.

One of the most exquisite Jaina bronzes had recently been discovered from Akoṭā, near Baroda in Western India (Bombay State). It is a standing image of Ṛṣabhanātha with pedestal lost and badly mutilated at the back, hands and legs (fig. 19). Its importance as the earliest known Jina image with a dhoti is discussed by me separately in the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Vol. I, No. 1. Its value as a specimen of the art of Gupta Age is no less, the head offers an excellent study of a Yogi in the dhyāna mudrā, with eyes half closed and shining with the light of supreme knowledge. In the proportionate modelling of the torso and the legs, this bronze, though smaller in size, is superior to the Sultānganj Buddha. It should be assigned to c. 450 A. D.

Transitional Period

The transitional period from Gupta art to the provincial schools of art witnessed a remarkable revival and growth of Tantric practices in Brahmanism, Buddhism as well as Jainism. Pantheons and rituals rapidly multiplied, resulting in new varieties of icons and temples dedicated to them. The artist had a wider range of subject matter but the growth of rigid canonical injunctions gradually made art productions of the mediæval period lifeless and mechanical. The transitional period from about 600 to 1000 A. D. is, therefore, very important in the history of Indian art and culture. It has besides produced some of the most well-known specimens of Indian art in architecture, sculpture and painting.

Five bronzes from Valabhī, illustrated in fig. 29, belong to c. sixth century A. D.[1] Of this age, probably the earliest known dated specimen is a standing bronze figure (fig. 30) from Vasantagaḍh,[2] old Sirohi State, Western India, with an inscription on its pedestal giving the date Saṁvat 744 (687 A.D.)[3] Another similar bronze without inscription and a few smaller ones from

[1] First discovered by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, discussed by this writer in Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no. 1, p. 36.

[2] The Jaina Bronzes from the Vasantagaḍh Hoard are discussed in a separate paper (with plates) by Shah, U. P., in the forthcoming first number of the Lalita-Kalā, being published by the Lalita-Kalā Academy, India.

[3] Muni Kalyāṇavijaya in *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, new series, 18.2. pp. 221-31. The inscription records the name of the *sculptor Śivanāga* and says that the second (standing:) bronze (of Ādinātha) was also cast by him. These

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the same site also belong to this period. The style of the dhoti (lower garment) put on by the Jina corresponds with that of a standing stone figure of Pārśvanātha from Rohtak near Delhi.[1] The Rohtak figure is however a little later in age but it shows the extent of the influence of the art of old Gujarāt and Mārwār. Of about the same period is the large Mahuḍī (Baroda State) bronze which is stylistically closely allied to the famous Nālandā bronzes.[2] Other noteworthy figures are a small bronze of Sarasvatī from Vasantgaḍh,[3] two metal sculptures in the Sīmandhara temple, Ahmedabad (which are possibly slightly later) and three standing bronze figures in Bhinmāl, Mārwār.[4] The stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha at Chārūpa, North Gujarāt, also belongs to c. 8th century. Two smaller bronzes from Mahuḍī and the group of rock-carvings at Dhāṅk, Saurāṣṭra, (Fig. 31) belong to this period.[5] The Dhāṅk sculptures show a Kubera-like two-armed yakṣa and a two-armed Ambikā yakṣī, here attending upon Pārśvanātha.

A fourfold (Caumukha) Jaina sculpture (Fig. 28) from the Sonbhaṇḍāra cave, Rājgir, and a figure of Ādinātha, with the name of a monk Vasantanandi inscribed (c. 8th century A.D.) on the pedestal, from the ruined brick shrine at Vaibhāra hill, Rājgir, are typical examples of Jaina sculptures of the Eastern School. To the next century may be assigned a few more sculptures from the same site and a stone sculpture from monastery no. 9, Nālandā. A four-armed goddess (Fig. 41) from this last site probably represents the Jaina yakṣī Padmāvatī, and is a unique iconographic specimen from North India, assignable to the 9th or 10th century.[6]

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bronzes from Vasantgaḍh are hollow from inside and filled with a light-weight core. They are at present worshipped in a shrine at Piṇḍawāda near Śirohi.

[1] Bhattacharya, B.C. *Jaina Iconography*, pl. VI.

[2] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1939*, 6-11, pl. iv-vi. Sankalia, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, I*, 2-4, 185 ff. Mr. Gadre assigns the fragmentary inscription on its prabhāvali to c. 300 A.D. which is certainly incompatible with the style of the big Mahuḍī figure. No estampage is published.

[3] Shah, U.P., *A Female Chaurie-Bearer from Akoṭā*, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, I, 1, wherein this as well as two other Tīrthaṅkaras of c. 7th-8th century A.D. are discussed and illustrated.

[4] Three such bronzes of c. 8th century A.D. allied in style and technique to Vasantagaḍh dated bronzes, are lately discovered by this writer from Bhinmāl where they are being worshipped in a Jaina shrine.

[5] Sankalia, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1938, 427 ff. *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 160 ff. It is not possible to assign to the sculptures a date earlier than 7th century A.D.

[6] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26*, 125 ff. and

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Rock-carvings of the Navamuni, Bārabhuji and the Triśūla caves, Orissa, with figures of Tīrthaṅkaras and attendant yakṣiṇīs, are of great iconographic value, though they represent crude specimens of Orissan art in c.900 A.D.[1]

Among temples of the transitional period may be noted two small Jaina shrines at Thān in Saurāṣṭra, described by Cousens.[2] Square in plan, these simple shrines seem to have once had a small porch in front constructed of huge blocks of stone, with a plain exterior and a single band of scroll on the door-way, the smaller of the two shrines has a much damaged Jina on the dedicatory block, while the larger one has a mutilated figure of Ambikā against its back wall. With this type may be compared the small Jaina temple of Paṭṭainī devī at Pithora, Unchchherā State, near Bhārhut. The door-way carvings of this temple suggest that the temple belongs to the post-Gupta period. The Paṭṭainī devī, enshrined in it, is however a later but unique sculpture of Ambikā with twenty-three other yakṣiṇīs carved on her three sides.[3]

A later specimen is the Mahāvīra temple at Osiā, old Jodhpur State, Mārwār. At Osiā is a group of Hindu fanes of 8th-10th centuries closely resembling the style of those at Eraṇ, Pathārī, Āmvām and Jhalrāpāṭaṇ. The Mahāvīra temple, enclosed in a courtyard containing a row of subsidiary shrines of the 10th century, was built in the reign of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra dynasty (770-800 A. D.). It has an open porch, a closed hall (sabhāmaṇḍapa) and a sanctum surmounted by a spire. The spire was rebuilt in the 11th century when a toraṇa (fig. 53) and a nālamaṇḍapa (second porch) led by a flight of the steps were added.[4] A loose plaque of 1075 V. S. representing Mothers of twenty-four Jainas, each with a child on her lap, preserved in the courtyard,

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pls. lvi-lvii.; *Report for 1930-34*, 165 f. pls. cxxxviii, d. and lxviii, b.; *Report for 1935-36*, pl. xvii, 9. Also *Guide to Rajgir*, by Kuraishi and Ghosh.

[1] Bhattacharya, B. C. *op.-cit.* pls. xxii-xxiv. Kuraishi, *op.-cit.* figs. 135-154. The Yakṣiṇis represent a slightly different tradition but as the photographs available are not distinct and as the Tīrthaṅkaras above are not always identifiable, it is not possible to discuss the evidence from iconographic point of view.

[2] H. Cousens, *Somnāth and other Mediæval temples in Kāṭhiāwād, Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XLV*, 50 ff., pl. XLVIII.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Report, IX*, 31. pl. vi. Sarasvati, S. K., in *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VIII. 148. Illustrated in *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay, Sept. 1941, fig. 28.

[4] "One of its outstanding features are the pillars of the porch as they represent the post-Gupta order in its ripest state."—Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 f.

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is noteworthy.[1] Practice of carving such paṭas of the Maddona continued in the mediæval period, such specimens being available at Pāṭan, Girnār, Ābu, etc. but the Osiā plaque is the earliest yet discovered.

Quite a large number of Jaina bronzes ranging from c. 6th to 11th centuries A. D. have been obtained in the Akoṭā hoard. Two bronzes, one of Ṛṣabhanātha with a Yakṣa and Ambikā and the other of an unidentified Jina are especially noteworthy as they are installed by Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa—the first between c. 500-550 A. D., and the second between c. 550-600 A. D.[2] A beautiful figure of Sarasvatī and other of a female chauri-bearer are illustrated in figs. 32-33.

Of special interest is the Makarabāi temple in a village of the same name, 10 miles N. E. of Mahobā in U. P. It is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of three separate cells, one at the back of the maṇḍapa and one each at the north and the south of it. The cult image in the sanctum is lost but the Jaina character of the temple is evidenced by figures of Jinas on its lintel. Though small, this shrine is of a unique type, different from the ornate Chāndela temples, and though almost devoid of external wall sculptures, presents a beautiful appearance.[3]

Another beautiful specimen, of about the end of the transitional period, is the so-called Ghaṇṭai temple at Khajurāho, old Chhatrapur State, Central India. A little separated from the main group, it has attracted considerable attention on account of what may be called the Attic beauty of its constituent parts. This temple, of which only a cluster of about a dozen pillars, standing on a moulded plinth and supporting a flat roof, and a carved door-frame, remain *in situ*, must certainly have been a gem of its time, being the handiwork of most accomplished craftsmen of the age. One can still admire the elegance of its pillars, most gracefully proportioned, tall and slender shafts, octagonal below and circular above with intermediate girdles of delicate carving or the richness of its carved door-way.[4]

The transitional period witnessed, in c. 8th century A.D., the introduction of the twenty-four yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs, as attendants of different Tīrthaṅkaras. In its later stage, it showed the introduction of eight planets on two sides of a Tīrthaṅkara or on the pedestal. The introduction of planets seems to have started in the Eastern School. In the west the planets were soon given a place on the pedestals of images of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In this period, the Jainas, especially the Digambaras, had strongholds in the whole of Central India while

[1] Shah, U. P., in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, IX*, p. 48.
[2] Shah, U. P., in *Jaina Satyaprakāśa* XVII, no. 4, pp. 86-91, figs. 1-4.
[3] *A.S.I., A.R.* for 1925-26, p. 15, pl. ii.
[4] Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff, pl. lxxxii.

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in the west, the Śvetāmbaras were growing stronger. South of Bṛgukaccha (Broach), the Digambaras had an establishment at Navasārī[1] while in the Khāndesh, M. P. and the Deccan, the Śvetāmbaras were gradually diminishing in number. In the east, in Bihar and Orissa, Digambara Jainism was still popular whereas in Bengal it was already on the decline.

Mediaeval Period

A group of Jaina temples of Chāndela art are standing at Khajurāho. A Khajurāho temple generally consists of a cella, a *maṇḍapa*, *ardha-maṇḍapa* (entrance portico), supplemented by vestibule to the cella and in more developed forms, has trancepts (*mukha-maṇḍapas*) together with professional path round the cella. The Jaina temples, about six in number and in varying states of preservation differ but little from the Brahmanical fanes at Khajurāho. The only difference lies in the almost complete elimination of voids in elevation or window openings which are pronounced features of other groups. The monotony of the external appearance of Jaina temples thus caused is relieved by elaborating parallel friezes of statuary. These rows of figures, running right round the structure, with projections at intervals, dominate the entire scheme.[2] Images of special iconographic value, including the dikpālas, yakṣas and multi-armed goddesses, are seen on these walls (fig. 52). One of these temples is illustrated in fig. 51. Fig. 40 illustrates Kubera from a pillar.

Architecture of Jaina temples at Deogarh fort, Jhānsī district, U. P., has not been properly discussed hitherto. Some of the temples date from the 10th century and have a small open porch leading into the shrine surmounted by a spire, less elaborate than Khajurāho. Set up in front of the spire are sometimes seen an ornamental arch and a few sculptures on the porch-roof. The temple walls, with niches on the sides, containing images, present a pleasing contrast with the ornate examples at Khajurāho. In later specimens, however, Deogarh temples show carvings on basement and walls and are erected on bigger plans, temple No. 12 being the biggest. Temple Nos. 1 and 12 have free standing pillars on one side, each pillar having four sculptures on the top and four more at the bottom. Fig. 47 represents a beautiful specimen of Kṣetrapāla (guardian of the site) from a pillar near the first temple. Amongst other noteworthy sculptures at Deogarh are a group of yakṣī figures set up with labels on the backwall of temple No. 12, in characters of the c. 10th century A. D. They represent a valuable iconographic tradition unknown to extant Jaina literature. Fig. 39 represents *the* Jina-Mother.[3]

Of special interest, among loose sculptures at Deogarh and Khajurāho, is

[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.

[2] Sankalia, H. D., *JISOA.*, IX. 97 ff.

[3] It is a loose slab (temple 4) dating from c. 11th century.

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a type of figures of a royal pair sitting under a tree surmounted by a miniature Jina and showing a child on the lady's lap. Such sculptures (figs. 45, 46), common to most of the Digaṁbara sites in Central India, U. P. and Bihar, and dating from c. 900-1200 A. D., are analogous to the Buddhist pair or Jambhala and Hārīti. A study of various specimens from these sites shows that a group of them at least represented the Mother and Father of various Jinas.

In the West, the mediæval period witnessed increased building activity amongst Jainas under the patronage of the Parmāras of Mālvā and Cāulukyas of Gujarāt. Vimala sāha, a minister of Solaṅkī court, built a magnificent temple at Delwāḍā, Mt. Ābu in V.S. 1088. A temple of extraordinary beauty, it shows the extent to which marble could be finely chiselled and an example where exumberance could be beauty.[1] Human faces do not radiate the spiritual bliss and divine glory of inner consciousness but the loss is largely repaid by the richness and beauty of decoration and fine carving. The temple consists of *mūlagarbhagṛha* (shrine), a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (adjoining hall), a smaller maṇḍapa *(navacoki)*, a larger hall (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*), a circumambulatory path *(Bhamati)* and in the court-yard a group of *devakulikās* (smaller shrines) with a pillared corridor in front. The shrine is on a higher level than the main hall. The dome of the latter, with an exquisitely wrought huge lotus pendant hanging from it (fig. 49), rests on eight stilted pillars arranged in an octagon, and rises in concentric circles of various decorative motifs. Sixteen brackets, apparently without any architectural value, show figures of sixteen Tantric goddesses called Mahāvidyās of unique iconographic value (cf. Fig. 50 representing Prajñapti). Between pillars of the octagon are toraṇas while there are a number of free standing pillars in the hall. The Maṇḍapa however was erected by Pṛthvīpāla, a minister of Kumārapāla.[2] All available space in the ceilings, walls, door-frames or pillars is utilised in presenting scenes from Jaina mythology, different gods and goddesses (cf. Fig. 54 representing the Mahāvidyā, called Vajrāṅkuśī) or designs which are veritable dreams of beauty. Fig. 55 is a *kicaka* on one of the pillar-brackets.

A second shrine at Delvāḍā, adjoining Vimalavasahi, built two centuries later by Tejpāla and Vastupāla on a plan similar to the one just described, is

[1] Coomaraswamy. *HIIA.*, pp. 111 f. Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, 142 f, pl. xciv. For a descriptive guide to all the Jaina shrines at Delvāḍā and Acaleśvara on Mt. Ābu, see Holy Ābu, by Muni Jayantavijaya, translated by U. P. Shah, published (with illustrations) by Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Bhāvnagar, April, 1954.

[2] As evidenced by a Praśasti verse from *Mallināṭha caritra* and *Candraprabhacaritra* (Ms., Pāṭaṇ), composed by Haribhadra Sūri, a contemporary of Pṛthvīpāla. Also see Introduction to *Holy Abu* by Shah, U. P.

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equally attractive while other temples of a later age are of little value except the Caumukha temple with a four-fold image in the sanctum, built in c. 1515 V.S. (1459 A.D.). The outer walls of this last shrine has provided us with iconography of all the Vidyādevīs, Yakṣiṇīs, and Dik-pālas.

A unique example of the Caumukha type of temples is however supplied by the Tribhuvana-dīpaka-Caturmukha-Jinālaya (Fig. 89) built in 1439, at Rāṇakpur (in Goḍvāḍ district) old Jodhpur State. Erected on a large plinth and a comprehensive structural scheme, it is an aggregation of shrines, symmetrically disposed around a central one. A large central spire surrounded by four others covering corner shrines, and twenty cupolas forming roofs of pillared halls, which again are surrounded by graceful turrets over eighty-six devakulikās produces a charmingly picturesque effect. The interior presents a variety and multiplicity of its parts, all well-proportioned and uniformly disposed, unending vistas of columns, interrupted at intervals by open courts and illuminated by direct and reflected light arrangements, producing a bewitching effect on the pious Jaina worshipper.[1]

Among other noteworthy temples in the West is a beautifully carved fane at Mirpur between Ābu and Śirohī, of about the same age as the temple of Tejapāla at Ābu. Another temple existed at Varavāṇ in the Thar and Pārkar district, Sindh. Two beautiful sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras and one of a Jaina donor dated 1185 A.D., now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, show the extent of influence of the old Gujarātī style of sculpture. At Sarotrā in North Gujarāt is another Jaina temple with fifty-two cells in the court-yard. On each side of the principle entrance of the sabhāmaṇḍapa is a cell enshrining a yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. On account of its recessed niches, wall angles and basement moulding the temple shows affinities with the Solaṅkī style of old Gujarāt and appears to have been built in c. 13th century, while the spire underwent repair at a later date.[2] An interesting temple built by Kumārapāla, the Caulūkyan king, exists at Tāraṅgā hill, North Gujarāt. It consists of a shrine with a circumambulatory path lighted by three windows and a maṇḍapa with porches on the north and the south and a large porch in the front. Mouldings of the shrine basement and wall are cut into a series of horizontal and vertical facets ornate with sculptures.[3] Another shrine built

[1] Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, pp. 164 ff. pl. cv. The plan of the Pahārpur monument (Bengal) was possibly based upon the conception of the Jaina Caumukha temple type enshrining the *pratimā-sarvvatobhadrikā* of Mathurā inscriptions; see also, Sarasvati, S.K., in *History of Bengal*, I. pp. 504 ff. For other sites in U.P. and Bihār, see Cunningham's A.S. Reports.

[2-3] Sankalia, *Archæology of Gujarat*, pp. 111-12. Burgess, *Archæological Survey of Western India IX*. pp. 99 ff, 114, pls. lxxvii, cix-cxiii.

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by Kumārapāla at Jālor about 80 miles south of Jodhpur is equally interesting.

Jaina shrines at Kumbhāriā, Dāntā State, North Gujarāt, belonging to c. 12th & 13th centuries, are noteworthy as some of them contain beautiful ceiling slabs with scenes from the lives of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and Śāntinātha (cf. fig. 83 representing the life of Pārśvanātha).

In Mevāḍ an interesting Jaina monument, built in c. 1100 A. D., and repaired in c. 1450, exists at Chitor in the form of a beautiful Kīrttistambha (pillar of glory), about 80 feet high and composed of 8 storeys (fig. 82).[1] The structure belongs to Digaṁbara sect and has a pavilion on the top which probably enshrined a Caumukha image in it. Such pillars or *mānastambhas*,, the *māṇavakastambhas* of the Jaina Canon, set up with images on top and at base, are often erected in front of Jaina temples though none of the extant ones are so magnificent as this specimen, which latter is erroneously called a Kīrttistambha. The temple built by Mokalajī is another noteworthy fane at Chitor supposed to have been Jaina originally. A more interesting group is, however, available at Un in the Indore State. The Un temples, similar in plan to the Khajurāho temples, have porches on three sides while the maṇḍapas are conspicuously larger than at the other site. The temples were mostly built by the later Paramāras of Mālvā in the 11th and 12th centuries. Of these the Caubārā Derā No. 2 is a magnificent shrine while the Goāleśvara is preserved in an almost perfect condition.[2]

Jaipur and Bikāner States[3] in Rājputānā also possess some remains, mainly of Digaṁbara sect, while Jesalmere further north has a group of Śvetāmbara temples of the Moghul period.[4] Udaipur State is famous for the shrines of Ādinātha worshipped by both the sects. Gwalior State is very rich in archæological remains of Digaṁbara sect ranging from the Gupta upto modern times. Of the transitional period interesting temples and sculptures are available at Gyāraspur (Mālāde temple, figs. 61, 62), Baḍoh and the site of Buḍhi Canderī. The latter site is also rich in Jaina sculptures of the mediæval period comparable in style to those of Deogarh fort, and Sironi in Central India. The

[1] *Progress Report of A. S. I., Western Circle*, 1904; *A. S. I,. A. R.*, 1905-06, pp. 44 ff. Cunningham, op. cit., xxiii, pp. 108 ff.

[2] *Progress Report, A. S. I., W. C.* 1918. pp. 19, ff. *A. S. I. R.*, 1923-24, p. 47.

[3] Sahani D. R. *Archæological remains at Bairāṭ;* Nawāb, *Jaina Satyaprakāśā* (Gujarati Journal), VIII, No. 1, pp. 9 ff. For the beautiful Sarasvatī from Pullu, Bikāner State, see Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, fig, 84.

[4] M. B. Garde, (1) *Archæological remains in Gwalior*, (2) *A Guide to the Archæological Museum, Gwalior*, (3) *Annual Reports of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State.*

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Gāḍarmal temple at Baḍoh, built from remains of temples of the 9th and 10th centuries has a nativity sculpture variously identified with Kṛṣṇa-Devakī or Triśalā-Mahāvīra. The account of the Dik-Kumārīs, given in works like the Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, performing the *sūtikā-karma* at the birth of a Jina, will show that the sculpture deserves to be identified as Jaina. The inference is further supported by the existence of Jaina remains at Baḍoh and Pathārī. The sculpture is well-known and illustrated by Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 178. A number of other sites in this state disclose remains, from the 10th century down to the end of the Moghul period, belonging mostly to the Digambara sect.[1]

In Khāndesh, Digaṁbara Jaina vestiges are found at Eraṇḍol and Cāharḍī while there is a late Jaina cave at Patnā.[2] An exquisite big bronze *covīsī* of Ādinātha from Cāharḍī is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is assignable to the 10th century A. D., if not a little earlier. In the Deccan, where a mixture of North Indian traditions with southern ones could take place, Digaṁbara temples existed at Miri and Ghoṭan in the Ahmednagar district[3], while in the Nasik district are a few Jaina caves. The Aṅkai Taṅkai group belongs to c. 12th-13th centuries while the Māṅgī Tuṅgī group on the western border of the Nasik district (and very close to the Sulher fort of the Gaekwads of Baroda,) has, besides other later ones, a cave assignable to c. 9th century A. D.[4] The style of carvings, however, in most of the Deccan caves has a southern stamp and are therefore excluded from this survey.

Thousands of Jaina bronzes scattered over Western India require a special study as most of them are stylistically related to the miniature paintings of the Western school which flourished in the mediæval period, old Gujarāt including Rājasthān, had, like Bihār and Bengal, its own school of sculpture and painting, the school of art which Tārānātha referred to as the School of Ancient West. A glimpse of the importance of some of the earlier bronzes can be had from the bronze of a female chauri-bearer from Akoṭā (fig. 33) discussed elsewhere [5] by the present writer. Of the later phases of bronze-casting in Western India, a glimpse can be had from a *sahasrakūṭa* sculpture with figures of 1008 Jinas (fig. 64).

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[1] M. B. Garde : *op. cit.*

[2-3-4] *Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess, 492 ff. 505ff. *A. S. I., A. R. for 1921-22*, 66 ff, *for 1925-26*, 167 ff. pl. lxc. b. For an illustration of the beautiful Cāharḍi bronze, see, *Indian Metal Sculpture* by Cintāmaṇi Kar, pl. 18. The figure is wrongly identified as Neminātha, the hairlocks on the shoulders of the main figure unmistakably prove that he is Ṛṣabhanātha.

[5] Shah, U. P., *Female Chauri-Bearer from Aṅkoṭṭaka and the School of Ancient West*—Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Vol. I., No. 1. pp. 43-46 and plates.

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Of early Jaina vestiges in Central Provinces (Madhya and Vindhya Pradesh) nothing is brought to light as yet. A few bronzes in the Nagpur Museum, acquired from Rajnākin Khinkhini in the Murtijāpur district belong to a period ranging from 7th to 10th centuries A. D. approximately. Some of these, especially the bronze image of Sarasvatī, published earlier by me[1] are of excellent workmanship. The museum also preserves stone sculptures found at Ratanpur, Rāipur, Burhānpur, Māṇḍlā and Hoshaṅgābād. Of the mediæval period, Jaina temples are found at Āraṅg, Chandā, Bhāṇḍak etc.; the most important specimens of Jaina sculptures belong to the age of Haihayas of Tripurī. One such beautiful sculpture is now in worship in a Digaṁbara temple at Jubbulpore while two others of the same art are preserved in the Indian Museum. A few Jaina sculptures in the Ṭhākur's compound at Sohāgpur, Rewā State, belong roughly to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. Amongst them is an interesting multi-armed variety of Padmāvatī, an attendant yakṣī of Pārśvanātha, discussed by the late Śri R. D. Banerji.[2] Most of the Jaina vestiges in C. P. belong to the Digaṁbara sect with its principal seat at Kāranjā.

In Bengal,[3] especially in the Western districts, the Jainas were probably pioneers in disseminating Aryan culture but unfortunately excepting the Pahārpur finds noted above, no earlier Jaina vestiges have been brought to light. A few sculptures of the mediæval period are, however, noteworthy. These include a beautiful stone sculpture of twenty-four Jinas with Ādinātha in the centre (fig. 37), from Surohor, in the Dinājpur district, of Śāntinātha from Ujāni in the Burdwān district, figures of Pārśvanātha from Bahulārā (fig. 38), Harmashrā, Deulbhirā and Siddheśvara (in the Bāṅkurā district) and a bronze figure of Ambikā from Nalgorā as also a stone sculpture of Ādinātha from Ghaṭeśvara in the 24 paraganas. Jaina vestiges are more common in the West Bengal and extend upto Mānbhum, Singbhum and Rānchī districts and the Chhoṭā Nāgpur division of Bihār. These images belong to the Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture but there is a difference in style among

[1] *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī*, Journal of the University of Bombay, September, 1941, fig. 5.

[2] Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in Central Provinces and Berar. Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Archæological Section, Nagpur Museum* (1914). R. D. Banerjee, *Haihayas of Tripuri*, Memoir No. 2 of A. S. I., pl. xlviii. b., xli. *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference* Travancore, 816 ff.

[3] *History of Bengal*, I. 464 ff. Figs. 47-49, 153. *Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, by R.D. Banerji, 144 ff. pls. lxxvi-lxxvii. *A.S.I., A.R., for 1925-26*, 115 ff. 153, pl. lx. e., *for 1921-22*, 84, pl. xxi, *for 1922-23*, 112 ff. *Indian Culture*, III. 524 ff. *Varendra Research Society, Monograph No. 3.*

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the Bengal and Bihar specimens mainly on account of materials utilised. The Jaina zone of influence appears to have extended, according to R.D. Banerji, from the southern bank of Ganges to the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī right upto the northern frontier of the jungle country of the wild Gonds. All the Jaina images belong to the Digaṁbara sect. A few specimens from the Mānbhum district are preserved in the Paṭnā museum. (cf. fig. 44).

In Orissa, no specimens are available for about nine centuries following the age of the Rāṇigumphā group, but rock-cut reliefs of Navamuni and Bārabhuji caves belong to c. 8th-9th centuries and the standing Jinas near Udyotakesari's cave were carved in c. 11th century. Khiching in the Mayurbhañj State provides interesting sculptures of these three or four centuries. A sculpture of Ambikā in the British Museum is a beautiful specimen of this period. Fig. 35 representing Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra on one stela, also in same Museum, is a beautiful specimen of c. 9th-10th cent. A.D., probably from Orissa. Another interesting specimen, a bronze of standing Ādinātha (Fig. 36) from Puri district, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1]

Temple Cities

A peculiarity of the Jaina sect is their love for building temple-cities, Śatruñjaya in Saurāṣṭra being the most famous of them, with several hundreds of fanes (figs. 57, 58) erected in several lanes in various periods. The temple of Ādinātha in Vimalavasī Tuṅk was built (1530 A. D.) upon the site of another older temple erected in c. 960 A. D., and there was also probably a still earlier structure. Jaina traditions assert that temples at Śatruñjaya underwent mass-scale repairs at several intervals. A sculpture of Puṇḍarīka in a small cell of the main Ādinātha temple is one of the most beautiful specimens of the 10th century sculpture in Western India. Another noteworthy shrine is the Caumkha temple, built in 1618 A. D. enshrining a four-fold image, with four cardinal entrances to the sanctum, the eastern one connected with the assembly hall in front while three others have porches leading into the surrounding courtyard. Above each porch rises an elegant second-storey with balconied windows. A third noteworthy temple is the one reported to have been built by Kumārpāla and a fourth by Vimalasāha is in good state of preservation.[2]

Another famous temple-city in Saurāṣṭra is on Mt. Girnār,[3] the

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[1] Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, Chanda, R. B. Ramaprasad, *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, 71 ff. pl. xxii. R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I. 84 ff., II. 394 pl. xc. Shah, U.P., in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September 1940, 153, fig. 4.

[2-3] Percy Brown, *op. cit.* 118 ff. cousens, *Somnātha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāṭhiāwād*, 73 ff. xcii-cvi. *Archaeology of Gujarāt*, 109 f, pls. xxii-xxiii- Burgess, *Archæological Survey of Western India II; Antiquities of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Kachh*. pp. 166 ff, pls. xxxi-xxxiv.

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shrines being far less numerous than at Śatruñjaya. Neminātha temple, the largest in the group, repaired in the 13th century, is enclosed within a court-yard with about 70 cells. The temple has a handsome maṇḍapa while the vimāna is composed of a grouping of turrets around a central tower in a scheme common to 12th century temples in Western India. The Vastupāl temple is a remarkable triple structure composed of three separate shrines, leading out of the three sides of the central hall, the fourth side forming the entrance. The central shrine is dedicated to the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha, while the two lateral shrines, formed like pillared halls, contain monuments of solid masonry. The northern one has a square base and represents the Mount Meru of Jaina mythology while the southern shrine contains a representation of the Sameta Śikhara or Mt. Pārasanātha in Bihār where twenty Tīrthaṅkaras obtained nirvāṇa. The Jainas similarly represent another mountain called Aṣṭāpada, a specimen of which is available in the Rāṇakpur temple described above. Such representations are at present known as "avatāra", *e.g.* Śatruñjaya-tīrthāvatāra (cf. fig. 59 representing a plaque of Śatruñjaya and Girnār).

Amongst several other smaller temple-cities of less architectural value are Songaḍh near Datiā, Central India, Kuṇḍalpur in the Damoh district, C. P., Muktagiri near Gawalgarh in Berar and Mt. Pārasnātha in Bihār. The group of temples at Papaurā in Orchhā State, and Jhālrāpāṭan in the Jhālāwāḍ State in Central India await a more detailad study.

Paintings

The tradition of Jaina painting is as old as Buddhist painting. In one of the extensive rock-cut caves at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa, assignable to c. 1st century B. C., traces of paintings have been marked.[1] The Śittānnavāsal wall-paintings in the old Pudducotta State, Madras, form the earliest published document of Jaina painting. Assignable to the reign of Mahendravarman I, the great Pallava king and artist (c. 600-625 A. D.), they are not essentially different from the contemporary paintings at Ajanṭā. As observed by Stella Kramrich, barring a certain physiognomical conventions in figure drawings there are no distinguishing features separating Śittānnavāsal paintings from contemporary paintings of Ajanṭā and Badāmī.[2] A review of later wall-paintings in the South at Ellora and elsewhere or of the miniatures of Digaṁbara Jaina manuscripts at Mūdabidri is beyond the scope of this survey of Jaina art in the North.

In the north, most of the existing specimens of Jaina paintings belong to the Mediaeval Western Indian School, which has for its background the School of Ancient West mentioned by Tārānāth. Since specimens of paintings of this

[1] Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Painting from Western India*, p. 10.
[2] *JISOA.*, Vol. V. p. 218.

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School of Ancient West are yet unknown it is still difficult to make any surmise about its distinguishing features.

But it has now been possible to infer a few characteristics of this School of Art from the stone and metal sculptures recently brought to light and discussed by this writer.[3] The School of Ancient West seems to have been a very vigorous one having passed through several stages of development during the march of time through several centuries. Earliest specimens which can be definitely assigned to this school may be noted:—

(1) The famous bronze image of Brahmā in the Karachi Museum, assigned by Dr. Coomaraswamy to the Gupta age. Though not inscribed, it cannot be placed later than c. 500 A. D. and may be slightly earlier.

(2) The mutilated bronze of Jīvantasvāmī from Akoṭā, with pedesta lost, illustrated here as figs. 20, 21, which should be assigned to the same age as Karachi Brahmā.[4]

(3) Of a slightly later date is the image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Akoṭā, installed by Jinabhadra Gaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa, discussed in Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Vol. I, No. 1, Fig. 43 ff., fig. 21. Also see Jaina Satyaprakāśa, Vol. 17. no. 4, pp. 86 ff and plate.

The last mentioned bronze, studied as three-quarter profile, immediately suggests to us the beginnings of the tendencies manifested in later Western Indian Miniature Paintings, namely, the squarish face, elongated eyes and a pointed nose. The bronze, both from the script of its inscription and from the known dates of Jinabhadra, must be assigned to c. 500-550 A.D.

A study of the crowns and other ornaments of different Jaina bronzes from Vasantagaḍh and Akoṭā assignable to c. 6th-7th century A.D., or of a few carvings on two small shrines at Roḍā, Īḍar State, North Gujarat, has shown their close affinity with contemporary art at Ajanṭā.

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[3] In Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. VIII. pp. 49 ff; Vol. IX. pp. 90 ff; Journ. of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I No. 2, pp. 161 ff.

[4] My arguments for assigning it to a date between 400 and 500 A. D. are given in my *Note on Akoṭā Hoard of Jaina Bronzes*, published in the Baroda Through the Ages (M. S. University of Baroda, 1953), pp. 99 ff.

[4] With these must also be noted the Tri-Tīrthika image of Pārśva or Supārśva installed by Khambhila (Khandila?) Āryikā of Nāgendra Kūla, c. 640 A. D.; illustrated as fig. 23 in my paper in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 45 ff., and the bronze of Sarasvatī from Vasantagaḍh, *op. cit.*, fig. 20, also, Sarasvatī from Akoṭā, illustrated here in fig. 34.

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In my recent study of Gupta sculptures from the Īḍar State, I have shown that the Parel Śiva and the Elephant Trimurti seem to be products of the same school of artists who produced the sculptures obtained from Śamaḷājī in the Īḍar State. Though bearing close affinities with the Gupta sculptures from Maṇḍasor, Devagaḍh and Bhumārā, they show a tendency to localisation which becomes more marked out in the bronzes discussed above, and which can be differentiated from some of the best Gupta specimens from Sārnāth and other places.

Now that we have been able to collect a sufficient number of Gupta and late-Gupta sculptures from Rājasthān and Gujarāt, a fresh comparative study of these with the Ajaṇṭā Paintings of the 6th century A.D., has to be undertaken. Such a study has shown to me a continuity upto Ajaṇṭā of the art traditions in Western India, close affinities in ornaments and motifs have also been observed in some of the paintings of c. 5th-7th centuries and the problem needs further exploration and study.

Now Śriṅgadhara (I propose to amend the name as Śārṅgadhara), an artist from Maru country founded the school of Ancient West, according to the Tibetan Historian Tārānāth *who expressly refers to his paintings*. Since the origin of this School of Ancient West, is assignable to the age of the Karachi Brahmā, the mutilated Jīvantasvāmī from Akoṭā and the Ṛṣabhanātha installed by Jinabhadra gaṇī—all not later than c. 500-550 A.D.,—and since the Parel Śiva and the Elephanta Trimurti can be compared with the Mahāviṣṇu from Śamaḷāji (discussed by me in the Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. IX) we have reason to doubt that at least some of these 5th-7th century paintings at Ajaṇṭā are closely related to, or might have been products of the School of Ancient West, but with some local or southern unavoidable influence. In its earliest stage, the School of Ancient West had marked affinities with the Gupta art of Central India. Such early tendencies persisted for a very long period in the West and in the South. Hence there are many chances of confusing the Western Style as Gupta Art, but a close study helps to differentiate both the Schools of Art.[1]

I have entered into these details because here I propose to go into the origins of Western Indian Paintings rather than repeat long lists of, or mention in details, the various Jaina miniatures already thoroughly discussed by

[1] Our study is based on a comparison of stone and metal sculptures with frescoes of Ajaṇṭā and Bagh. For want of frescoes in Gujarat and Rājasthān, it is not possible to compare the art in the same medium. Even though sculptures do not possess the richness of colour and details of paintings, distinct common art trends are perceptible amongst sculptures and frescoes suggesting a common origin.

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Moti Chandra in his "Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India."

As already remarked, these Ajaṇṭā paintings of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods disclose a continuity of art traditions of Western India, of course with a definite local colour in proportions of human forms reflecting the general features of the contemporary population around Ajaṇṭā or in Mahārāṣṭra. This fact of Western Influence further obtains support from the account of Hiuen-Tsang about the Ajaṇṭā caves.[1] Speaking about a convent built by *Arhat Achara*, he says that, "*This Arhat was a man of Western India*". He built this Saṁghārāma for the spiritual benefit of his mother who was reborn in this country. Hiuen-Tsang notes: "On the four sides of the Vihāra, on the stone walls, are painted different scenes from the Tathāgat's preparatory life as a Bodhisattva.....On the outside of the gate of the Samghārāma, on he north and south side.....there is a stone elephant." As noted by Beal "This seems to refer to two elephants in alto—relievo sculptures on the rock in front of Cave XV, but which are now scarcely recognisable."[2] In support of this tradition of Arhat Achara, Beal has added in a footnote to his translation (Vol. II, p. 257, note, 46): "In the inscription on the Caitya cave No. XXVI at Ajaṇṭā, we read that 'The ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain dwelling for the Teacher, though his desires were fulfilled."[3]

Hiuen-Tsang's account of the vihāra is exaggerated and he speaks of a stone figure of Buddha, 70 feet high, placed in the middle of this convent 100 feet in height. Beal suggests cave XIX as the possible cave referred to by Hiuen-Tsang. He also says that the report is only an exaggerated account of the rock-cut Chaityas and that Hiuen-Tsang does not appear to have visited them personally.[4]

The continuity of art traditions visible in the later paintings at Ajaṇṭā and Ellurā, and their gradual development into what we call Western Indian Miniature Painting is already acknowledged by experts on the subject. Giving the chief characteristics of Western Indian Miniature Painting, Moti Chandra writes: "These conventions are still in embryonic stages in the later cave paintings of Ajaṇṭā." For the present we can say that at least some of the 5th-7th century paintings at Ajaṇṭā seem to be products of the Old Western School.

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[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 257-259.

[2] Also see, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 306.

[3] Also see, *Archæolegical Survey of Western India, Reports, Vol. IV*, p. 135.

[4] Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 258, ft. note 48.

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Though no Jaina paintings of this age have survived, we can very well imagine what they could have been. Traces of (later) paintings are also observed in the Jaina caves at Ellura.

The Western Indian Miniatures dating from c. 1100 A. D. show a later stage in Western Indian art, when angularity of faces, pinching of the farther cheek and consequent protusion of the farther eye into empty space became pronounced besides the crude colour modelling and the conventional treatment of trees, animals, birds etc. In the middle layer of wall paintings at Kailāsa, Ellura, datable to the 9th century, one is confronted with some of these conventions.

The earlist known Jaina miniature paintings are the decorative roundels in the palm-leaf manuscripts of Niśītha Cūrṇī, dated 1100 A. D., from Saṁghavī Pāḍā Bhaṇḍār, Pātaṇ. But more noteworthy are the two palm-leaf miniatures in the manuscript of Jñātā and other Aṇga texts, dated 1127 A. D. (figs. 65-66), one of them represents Sarasvatī standing in *tribhaṅga*[1] with flowing and sensitive outlines; her farther eye does not protrude into space though the attendant worshippers betray more pronounced characteristics of Western Indian miniatures. But this painting should be regarded as influenced by southern forms, the form of Saraswatī is more like those met with in contemporary sculptures from Canarese districts.[2]

It must be remembered that Mīnaladevī, the Queen mother of Siddharāja, was a very powerful personality hailing from the South, whose influence in the court must have been responsible for an influence of artists from Canarese districts. It was impossible to avoid such cultural contacts.

Before we proceed to review the known miniatures, we must take note here of a still unpublished wooden book-cover, recently exhibited in the Exhibition of Manuscripts from different Jaina Bhaṇḍaras, arranged at Ahmedabad, during the XVII session of the All India Oriental Conference. The two paṭṭikās have been cut at ends, the other pieces being lost beyond recovery. The two pieces now left show paintings of Vidyādevīs in a damaged condition. Whatever is left is sufficient to show that these paintings are earlier than the earliest known Western miniatures of the Niśītha Cūrṇi and the Jūātā-dharmakathā manuscripts of 1100 and 1127 A. D. The set of Vidyādevīs shows a style somewhat different from that of the manuscripts just mentioned. Figure modelling is of a superior order, showing no trace of angularity of features,

[1] Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, Fig. 16.

[2] Compare for example the Jaina Bronze from Pūraṇa Chandrā Nāhar's collections, having a Canarese inscription on its back (c. 12th century A. D.), illustrated in जैन साहित्यनो संक्षिप्त इतिहास, by Śrī M. D. Desai.

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pointed noses or protrusion of the farther eye. Figures show robust and rather stunted forms, with heavy heads, comparable with similar post-Gupta or early mediæval sculptures from the Gwalior State. Their affinities with late Gurjjara-Pratihāra and early Paramāra sculptures is unmistakable. These covers of a palm-leaf manuscript should be assigned to c. 9th-10th century A. D.

W. Norman Brown has attempted to present a classification of the styles of Jaina miniatures. " He groups the earliest known examples under the stylistic classification ' A ', and shows that the sequence of this style runs from these early examples through the miniatures in Hemachandra's Neminātha-charita and in the miniatures of the Sāvagapaḍikamaṇa-sutta executed in 1260 A. D. In the manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakāchārya-kathā in Pātaṇ Bhaṇḍār, dated 1279 A. D., he sees a sub-variety of style ' A ', which he calls ' A. 1 '. In another illustrated manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, dated 1278 A. D., in the Saṁghavī Pāḍāno Bhaṇḍār, Pāṭaṇ, he sees the second sub-variety of style ' A. 1 ' and designates it ' A. 2 '. [1]

Style ' A. 1 ' is distinguished by relative lack of complication in ornamentation as in the earliest palm-leaf manuscripts, by relatively low number of figures in a composition and by comparatively less details in costumes and ornaments. Thick lines are employed in preference to fine strokes. The peak of this sub-variety ' A. 1, ' according to W. Norman Brown, reaches in the illustrations of the Kalpasūtra manuscript dated 1370 A.D. in the collections of Mukti Vijaya Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Ujamphoi Dharmaśāā, Ahmedabad. [2] Paintings of style ' A. 1 ' are intellectual and show full and steady curves while ' A. 2 ' with increased finer lines had more accessory detail. The latter style continued in the 13th and 14th centuries. Amongst noteworthy examples of this ' A. 2 ' are painted wooden covers of the Dharmopadeśamālā (Nawab's collection) and the Īḍar palm-leaf manuscript of the Kalpa-sūtra belonging to the fourteenth century. The use of paper increased in this century and in the following one paper manuscripts show an increase in the number of miniatures. The Chhāṇī palm-leaf miniatures, containing a rare set of paintings of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās (cf. fig. 69), are devoid of the smooth flowing curves of style A or the accurate detail of A2, and should be assigned to style B. [3] I should like to note one

[1] Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

[2] Moti Chandra, *op.cit.*, figs. 54-58.

[3] Brown, W. Norman, *Stylistic Varieties of Early Western Indian Painting*, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Arts, Vol. V pp. 1-12. For a bibliography on Western Indian Paintings, see, Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 ff to this add *Pavitra-Kalpa-Sūtra* and *Jesalmere-citrāvali* edited by Muni Śrī Puṇya-vijayaji.

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important fact here. Hitherto believed[1] to have been dated in V.S. 1218, the manuscript really belongs to the late 13th or early 14th century, the scribe having omitted to note the date of coping after recording the date of his original manuscript. This is further supported by a reference in this ms. to Vijayasenasūri (on folios 131-132) who is said to have died in 1301 V.S. Of this style are the paintings of Subāhucharitra (Saṁghavī pāḍā, Pātaṇ) and the wooden covers of Sūtrakṛtāṅga-vṛtti (Nawab's collection).

The use of gold in paintings increased in the following two centuries, probably under Moghul influence. A large number of illustrated Kalpa-sūtra and Kālaka-kathā manuscripts, assignable to this age, are available in Western India. A Kalpa-sūtra manuscript in Śrī Haṁsavijaya collection, Baroda, is specially noteworthy for its ornate border designs and bright colours, while another from Śrī Dayā Vimala collection, Ahmedabad, is valuable for illustrations of various dancing postures. A palm-leaf manuscript of Mahāviracharita, dated 1294 V. S., in the Saṁghavi Pāḍā Bhaṇḍāra, is supposed to contain miniatures of Hemacandra and the Caulukya King Kumārapāla. Of some other palm-leaf miniatures are illustrated here a painting of a ten-armed goddess (Mahiṣamarddinī) from Uttarādhyayana-laghu-vṛtti, copied in 1352 V.S. and another of Lakṣmī from Upadeśamālā-vṛtti, dated 1291 V.S. (both from Cambay), in figures 71 and 70. Several sets of Uttarādhyayana miniatures on paper are available, of which some have been studied by Brown in a separate monograph.[2] Miniatures of a manuscript of this text in the Haṁsavijaya collection, Baroda, are in an excellent state of preservation and belong to c. 1500 A.D., the best period of Jaina manuscript paintings on paper (fig. 68). Sthānāṅga-sūtra, Saṁgrahaṇīsūtra, Subāhucharitra, Supārśvanātha caritra, Śālibhadra chaupai, Śrīpāla-rāsa, are some of the other Jaina texts found with illustrations. A scroll painting of the Jaina Pañcatīrthī, in the Tāḍpatrīya Pustaka Bhaṇḍār, Āgrā, first published by N. C. Mehta, and rediscussed by Moti Chandra, is an interesting document of Western Indian painting on cloth dated in V. S. 1490 (1433 A.D.).[3]

Vijñaptipatras are a type of scrolls (generally painted on paper) of invitation, specially found amongst the Śvetāmbaras, and sent to Jaina ācāryas by the Jaina community of a town or a village, requesting the former to spend the next rainy season with the latter. Such scrolls contain interesting paintings of various city sites and temples as also representations of fourteen dreams and

[1] By Brown, Moti Chandra and others following Nawāb.

[2] Brown, W. Norman, *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, American Oriental Series, No. 21.

[3] Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff; N. C. Mehta, *A picture scroll from Gujarat*, Indian Art and Letters, Vol. VI (New Series), pp. 71-78.

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eight auspicious marks. The earliest known Vijñaptipatra belongs to the c. 17th century A. D. [1]

Tantric and non-tantric paṭas or paintings on cloth are often available but only a few of them have been published hitherto. [2] The earliest known amongst them are the Chintāmaṇi-Yantra paṭa drawn for Taruṇaprabhasūri (c. 1354 A. D.) and the Sūri-mantra paṭa executed for the use of Bhāvadevasūri (c. 1355 A. D.) both discussed by Moti Chandra. [3] A Paṭa of Hrimkāra with Parśva in centre, from collections of Muni Śri Puṇyavijayaji, is illustrated in fig. 80. It is also called Aṭṭe Maṭṭe Yantra-paṭa, and is assignable to c. 1400-A.D.

We have referred to the earliest known painted book-covers. Amongst other noteworthy examples are the paṭṭikās representing the Vyākhyāna Sabhā (discussion hall) of Śrī Jinadatta sūri, at Jesalmere, assignable to c. 1154-70 A. D. and the beautiful covers representing the controversy between Śrī Devasūri and Kumuda Chandra, now in the collections of Muni Śrī Jinavijayaji. This last panel has all the distinguishing features of the Western Indian School. [4] Sarabhai Nawab assigns the latter to c. 15th century while Moti Chandra is inclined to place it in the 12th century. If contemporary sculpture has to be taken into account, it should be placed in the age of Vastupāla, c. 13th century A. D., when there was a fresh impetus to art and literature. Stylistically also, the cover has affinities with paintings of the late 13th and early 14th century which cannot be overlooked.

Fortunately we have contemporary sculptural evidence for all Western painting from c. 1100 A. D. and a comparative critical approach has been always helpful in the study of Western Indian sculpture and paintings of the mediæval period. Both are closely related, both show angular face, pointed noses, peculiar elongated eyes, besides similar costumes and human proportions. Later Jaina paintings show decided influence of the Moghul and Rājput schools and it would be misleading to label any of these styles as Jaina ones. Painting activity extended over a wide area from Jesalmere in the north to the southern limits of modern Gujarāt. Jaina contributions from outside the limits of Western India are hardly known, so far as painting is concerned, except the well known Kalpasūtra painted at Jaunapura (Yavanapura) in V.S. 1522,

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[1] Hirananda Shastri, *Ancient Vijñāptipatras*, (Śrī Pratāpasiṁha Rājyābhiṣeka Granthamālā I).

[2] For a discussion on and reference to other published paṭas, see, Shah, U. P., *JISOA.*, *Vol.* IX, pp. 42 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff and plates.

[4] For detailed appreciation and illustrations see Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff. figs. 193-198.

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noted above. The central roundel on the last folio suggests that it was painted by a lady.[1] Contributions of the Digambara sect in the field of book illustrations are few and hardly known; no noteworthy specimens are available in Western (and Northern) India, but a late illustrated paper manuscript of the Jaina version of the Rāmāyaṇa story is reported to have been now preserved in the Digambara Jaina collections at Arrah in Bihār.

It is indeed interesting to find that such an exquisitely painted manuscript is the work of a lady artist. Every folio has a different border, rich in colours and designs, all of which can serve as first class *sāri*-designs and borders.

Another point which should not escape our notice in the miniatures of this manuscript is the use of thick sharp angular strokes of limbs of figures as well as of garments' ends. The style is not wholly similar to contemporary miniatures from Gujarāt and Mārwār. There is a contrast between the beautiful borders and the miniatures, in the use of colours which cannot escape notice of even a casual look. It would seem that they are works of two different artists.

[1] The colophon at the end, on the last folio, gives the details about the donors etc., of the manuscript, including those of the scribe and the place of copying of the manuscript which is Yavanapur or Jaunapur. While in a roundel in the central margin is written in gold :—साधु सहसराज पुत्रिकया. Obviously the artist has added her own identity in the space which was left for the artist's brush. It cannot be a later addition by one who gave it as a gift to some monk. Nor can it be a contemporary record of the person giving it as a gift to some monk. All this is already included in the text of the colophon on the same folio (see जैन चित्रकल्पद्रुम, fig. 243), and we must acknowledge the daughter of merchant Sahasarāja as the painter of this manuscript.

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Studies In Jaina Art

II

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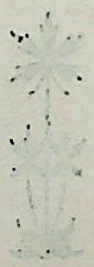
II



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II

SYMBOL WORSHIP IN JAINISM

1. INTRODUCTORY

"Human mind learnt to conceive of the Highest Divinity not in the absolute likeness of Him but rather in aniconic representations from very early times. These aniconic representations had such meanings and implications as would help us to differentiate them from purely decorative or artistic forms." [1] But this is only partly true since forms which are regarded as purely decorative or artistic might have once had some religious or any other meaning attached to them at some stage of their development in art.

So far as Brahmanical Iconography is concerned, it is generally agreed that originally it did not include idol-worship. The sun for example was represented by a disc. The lotus, the svastika, etc., which are amongst the earliest symbols worshipped by human beings of different races and religions are symbols conveying some ideal to the worshipper, howsoever primitive their earlier conception might have been.

Even when a god-head came to be worshipped as an idol, representing a human form, his representation was never allowed to function purely biologically as the likeness of the person glorified and worshipped. In this way, the idol of a Jina or the Buddha remained as a symbol of Mahāpuruṣa and not as a portrait of Mahāvīra or the Gautama Buddha. [2] It is, however, highly probable that the worship of the Jina or the Buddha image originated from the practice of adoring some ancient portraits or paintings of these saints for we have reason to belive that such attempts at portraiture did take place during the life-time of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha.

But the idol of Jina soon came to be symbolised and the worship of the Jina image is said to be adoration of the aggregate of qualities which the pious worshipper strives to acquire himself. The Jina-image thus essentially came to be a symbol of these qualities.

It seems that the introduction of the worship of the Jina image was earlier than that of the Buddha, and archæological evidence hitherto obtained

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[1] Jaina Antiquary, Vol. XV. No. 1, p. 1.

[2] Also see, Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 3

[3] cf. *Divyāvadāna*, Chp. XXVI, discussed by Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, p. 5

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supports this inference. For a long time worship of the Buddha's human form was regarded as something prohibited by Buddha himself.

But even in Jaina worship, introduction of the Jina Image seems to be a somewhat later development, and may be assigned to the century following the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. No Jaina Āgama refers to shrines dedicated to any of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. Mahāvīra is never reprted to have visited or stayed in any Jaina shrine. He stayed in *Caityas* which commentators unanimously explain as *Yakṣa--āyatanas*.

Pārśvanātha, who lived 250 years before the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, is acknowledged as a historical figure and his followers existed in the age of Mahāvīra and a few centuries following him. Mahāvīra's parents are reported to be followers of Pārśvanātha. But nowhere in the Āgamas do we hear of anybody visiting the shrine of Pārśvanātha or any other Jina. Only once or twice in the Bhagavatī Sūtra[1] and once in the Upāsakadaśāṅga,[2] we come across a general reference to *Arhat Caitya* which passages may or may not be genuine and old.

Hence we are forced to believe that at least upto the beginning of fourth century B.C. idol worship did not become popular amongst the Jainas. But the highly polished mutilated torso of a Jina Image obtained from Lohānipur near Patnā shows that at least in the third century B.C. or slightly earlier, worship of the Jina Image had started.

Against this, we have the evidence of stock descriptions of Śāśvata-pratimās in the Jaina Āgamas (like the Rāyapaseṇaiya, Sthānāṅga and the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra) or the reference to the worship of Jina-images by Draupadī in the Jñātādharmakathā[3] which would suggest that idol worship existed in Jainism from the age of Mahāvīra or his gaṇadharas. But the view does not seem to be free from doubts since these passages might have been composed in a somewhat later age. Again, all throughout the Jaina Āgamas we find references to the worship of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Vāsudeva, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Nāga, tree, etc. which suggest that these were amongst the most popular deities worshipped by the masses who are not reported to have visited any shrines of Tīrthaṅkaras.

Mahāvīra stayed in Yakṣa shrines. Naturally he stayed in places where masses used to gather in large numbers and where he could have the desired type of audience. In other words he obtained his following not from people who

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[1] *Bhagavati Sūtra* with Abhayadeva's comm., (Āgamodaya Samiti's ed.), 3. 2. Sū. 145, Vol. I. p. 75.

[2] *Uvāsagadasāo* (Ātmānanda Sabhā ed.), p. 14.

[3] *Nāyādhammakahāo* (ed. N. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1940), XVI, 124, p. 181.

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gathered at Vedic sacrifices but from the masses who believed in the worship of Yakṣas, Nāgas, etc. It was, therefore, natural that the essentials of this Yakṣa or Nāga cults were incorporated in Jaina worship.

Hence in order to understand the meaning of symbols and idols in early Jaina worship we must understand the essentials of the Yakṣa cult. Dr. Coomaraswamy has discussed the significance underlying the conception of Nāgas and Yakṣas in his *Yakṣas I and II*. The various references to the ancient Yakṣas etc. in Jaina literature have been discussed by me in another paper published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. III, No. 1 (1953), pp. 54-71. I have suggested in this paper that the conception of the Jina or the Buddha under a Caitya-tree is essentially a borrowing from this Yakṣa cult. This cult of worshipping Caitya-Vṛkṣas and spirits of Vṛkṣas, (standing) under the trees,[1] seems to have been at least as old as the seals from Mohen-jo-Dāro and Harappā. The red-stone mutilated torso from Harappā,[2] so much like a Jina torso, might actually have represented some yakṣa devatā.

So we must first try to understand the conception of Caitya and Caitya-Vṛkṣa in Jaina art and literature. Since Stūpa worship is very ancient, anterior to Buddha and Mahāvīra, and since, as we shall see presently, the Stūpa is a Caitya, we must also study Stūpa worship in Jainism. We shall then pass on to the worship of Paṭas or plaques—especially the Āyāgapaṭas, which are associated with the ancient Caitya worship which are amongst the earliest Jaina antiquities discovered from Mathurā.

We shall next pass on to other symbols like the Aṣṭamaṅgals, the Samavasaraṇa, the Auspicious Dreams etc.

Such a study of the symbols reveals to us the underlying common heritage in the art and ritual of the Indian masses—Jainas, Buddhists or the Hindus. Origins of some of these concepts date from a hoary antiquity and their later development in Indian art and ritual can only be grasped with the help of studies in this direction.

It may also be remembered that for a study of the original conceptions behind such symbols as the caitya-vṛkṣa, the lotus etc., we must also refer to the Vedic literature, for assimilation of ideas and concepts has been an unbroken process in Indian art and literature produced by different sects. It is not possible here to discuss such concepts from literatures of all the three sects and as far as possible we will limit ourselves to the study of evidence supplied by Jaina art and literature.

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[1] Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, figs. 5, 7, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

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2. CAITYA, STŪPA AND STAMBHA

The most general name for a sanctuary is *Caitya* in Sanskrit, *Cetita* or *Ceiya* in Ardhamāgadhi or Jaina literature and *Cetiya* in Pāli—a term not only applying to shrines, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, pillars etc. Hence, according to Kern, 'all edifices bearing the character of sacred monuments are Caityas, but not all the Caityas are edifices.'[1]

The origin of the word Caitya is generally traced to the Vedic *cayana*.[2] "The general meaning of the word *Caitya*, from $\sqrt{ci}$-*cayane*, is something piled up, the relative derivative *citya* or *citi* referring to the fire-altar."[3] As shown by Dikshitar, "the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explains *citya* as that which could be used for *cayana*. Though the term *caitya* as such does not occur in the Saṁhitās, *citya* or *Agni—citya* is used in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Taittirīya Saṁhitā." It is significant to note the use of the expression *citya* from which the original expression *caitya* has been undoubtedly derived.[4]" In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (5.1.8.4.) we hear of Agni-Citya to which offerings are made.

Pandit Haṁsarāja Shāstri, in his *Caitya-vāda Samīkṣā* (Hindi, Ambālā, Punjab, V. S. 2007), has adduced references to *citi*, *citya*, *cayana* etc. from Vedic literature and shown that *citya* primarily refers to *yajñasthāna* or fire-altars. Especially, see, Pāṇini, 3.1.139 and 3.1.132 discussed by him on *op. cit.*, pp. 22-26. Śrī V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, in his '*Origin and Early History of Caityas*,' Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV. No. 3, pp. 440-452 adduced most of these references and had arrived at similar conclusions.

In the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, we find for the first time mention of a *Caitya-yajña* (चैत्ययज्ञे प्राक् स्विष्टकृतश्चैत्याय बलिं हरेत्।). It is said that bali is to be offered to Caitya, but if the Caitya is situated at a distant place, bali is to be sent through a leaf (treated as a) messenger.[5] The commentary of Nārāyaṇa explains Caitya as *citte bhava*. According to him, a man makes a vow to a certain deity that if his wish is granted, he would offer a sacrifice and this

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[1] *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (1896), p. 91.

[2] See, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, pp. 20-22.

[3] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (henceforth HIIA.), p. 47.

[4] Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 440 f. Also see, Martin Haug, Translation of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, V. note 28. cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica), VI. 1.2.16.

[5] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (Ānandāśrama ed.), Bk. I. 12-1-3.

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sacrifice is the Caitya-yajña. Oldenburg thinks that this rite was not purely symbolical.[1] The bali is to be offered to Caitya where Caitya may stand for a shrine or an icon in the shrine. And the Gṛhya Sūtra further says that if the Caitya is at a distant place, the offering is to be made through a leaf messenger. Thus as noted by Dikshitar, "caitya was no more yajña-sthāna.....From the time of Āśvalāyana onwards we find the use of the application of the term caitya extended. There is a transition from Agni-cityas to Anagni-cityas, or in other words from a fire cult to a fireless cult."[2] But the same Gṛhya sūtra has also used caitya in the sense of yajña-sthāna in "...चैत्ययूपं वोपहत्य."[3] Thus the text represents a stage of transition in the (meaning of) the word Caitya. The Caitya-yajña is of course a sacrifice performed as a Vedic ritual. But who were the deities of the Caityas to whom bali was offered? Nārāyaṇa, the commentator cites the names of Śankara, Paśupati, Aryā, Jyeṣṭhā etc. but they might have been any deities. It is not unlikely that some of these Caityas were sanctuaries dedicated to such deities as Rudra, Skanda, Vaiśramaṇa, Mukunda, Nāga, Yakṣa, Indra and others whose festivals, caityas etc. are often referred to in the Jaina canons.[4] Was it an attempt to give Vedic colour to the worship which had penetrated into the Aryan folks from the Dravidian masses? The cults of the phallus, and of the mother-goddesses, Nāgas, Yakṣas and other nature spirits are probably elements of Dravidian origin and in the words of Dr. Coomaraswamy, "the shift from abstract symbolism to anthropomorphic iconography in the period of theistic and *bhakti* development, marks a final victory of the conquered over the conquerors.

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[1] See, Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 445; also see, Caitya-Vāda-Samīkṣā where Pt. Haṁsarāja Shāstrī has discussed this passage with extracts from commentaries of Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta.

[2] Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

[3] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 3. 6. 8. cf. the commentaries:

नारायणीय वृत्तिः—अग्निचयनस्थं यूपं स्पृष्ट्वा ।

हरिदत्ताचार्यः—चित्योऽग्निः तत्र भवो यूपश्चैत्यः ।

Also cf. चैत्य used in a similar sense in Mahābhārata, XIV. 10-32—

ततःसंवर्तश्चैत्यगतो महात्मा, यथा वह्निः प्रज्वलितो द्वितीयः ।

हवींष्युच्चैराहव्यन् देवसंघान् जुहावाग्नौ मंत्रवित् सुप्रतीतः ॥

Also, चैत्ययूपांकिता भूमिर्यस्येयं सवनाकरा । MBH. आ. प. 2.229 is explained by a comm. as चित्ये चयनवति क्रतौ विहिताश्चैत्यास्ते च ते यूपाश्च तैरंकिताः ।

A reading of Kaṇvaśākhīya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 13.4.3.1, noted by Pandit Haṁsarāja, is—चैत्ये होवाच ब्रह्मा ।

[4] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II. 40. pp. 49 f.; I. 25. p. 23; *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed.), 2. 1. 1. 2. sū. 12, p. 328.

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In particular, the popular, Dravidian element, must have played the major part in all that concerns the development and office of image-worship, that is *pūjā* as distinct from *yajña.*"[1] The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra is assigned generally to the sixth century but probably belongs to a much earlier date.[2]

The original association of Caitya or Citya with Vedic yajña also continued in the age of the Mahābhārata which refers to the region made sacred by hundreds of *caitya-yūpa*—[3] the caitya and yūpa (or caitya-yūpa, = sacrificial posts) were in one and the same place; but in another context the epic refers in glowing terms to the country full of caityas and yūpas,[4] where Caityas are supposed to refer to places of sacred yajñas but may refer to shrines and stūpas also. But in ततः संवर्तश्चैत्यगतो महात्मा etc. quoted above, or in चैत्ययूपाङ्किता भूमिर्यस्येयं सवनाकरा (MBH. आ. प. 2.229) the word Caitya primarily denotes Yajñasthāna. The Śabdakalpadruma quotes an ancient passage of Bharata to indicate that caitya is yajñasthāna or yajñāyatana. This is a sacred place for the performance of yajñas. It may possess citya or it may not possess one (यज्ञस्थानं केचित्तुमुखरहितं देवकुलसदृशं यज्ञायतनं सचित्यमचित्यमपीत्याहुः).[5] This as shown by Dikshitar refers to two uses of cayana. The first is like the *Garuḍacayana-yāga* wherein special bricks are spread in the form of an eagle lying down on earth. On it different oblations are offered. The second forms part of a great sacrifice like the Aśvamedha wherein the cayana ritual consisted in collecting sacred ashes, sacrificial utensils etc., and piling them up in a certain place apparently fenced with walls of stone, brick or mud, the enclosure being devoid of any mukha or entrance, the underlying idea being that the place may not get defiled by anybody.

When Rāma went to Daṇḍaka through Kośala he found the whole country

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 5. For Yakṣa worship in Jainism, see, Shah U. P., in JOI., Vol. III, no. 1.

[2] Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

[3] भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षिते।
वभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः॥ *Mahābhārata*, I. 109. 13.

[4] Cf. यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चैत्याश्चापि हिरण्मयाः। *MBH.* II. 3.12. The commentators, and Pt. Haṁsarāja Shastri take चैत्य = यज्ञस्थान here but I am doubtful. When the expression is चैत्ययूप the above sense is possible but in this case चैत्य and यूप are two different things. चैत्य may here refer to shrines or stūpas.

[5] See also Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 442; he writes: the term citya and caitya are correlated and connoted one and the same thing in the second half of the Vedic period.

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adorned with caityas and yūpas.[1] The association of caityas with Brahmaghoṣa and yajñamaṇḍapa is also seen in Mṛcchakaṭika, X. 12 as pointed out by Dikshitar.

But in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, Caitya is used in a wider application as well. In Rāmāyaṇa, for example, we hear of Caitya-gṛhas (V. 12.15), Caitya-prāsādas (V.43.3), or Caitya-vṛkṣas[2] (V.12.8, and in MBH. VI.3.40). The Caitya in Rāmā yudh. 85.29., is the shrine of the city-goddess of Laṅkā while Caitya in *ibid.*, 39.24, is the palace of Rāvaṇa.[3]

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya refers to Caitya in several contexts, in many cases caitya is used in the sense of a shrine with an icon worshipped in it, compare: आक्रोशाद्देवचैत्यानामुत्तमं दण्डमर्हति (III. 18) or दैवतं चैत्यं सिद्धपुण्यस्थानमौपपादिकं वा रात्रावुत्थाप्य यात्रासमाजाभ्यामजीवेत् (V. 2) or एवं गृहीतदुर्गो वा प्राश्यप्राशं चैत्यमुपस्थाप्य दैवतप्रतिमाछिद्रं प्रविश्यासीत् (XII. 5) चैत्यदैवतद्वाररच्चास्थानेषु च सन्निधिः समयकर्मनिक्षेपं हिरण्याभिज्ञानमुद्राणि हिरण्यभाजनानि प्ररूपयेयुः (XI. 1.)[4]. The Nikumbhilā Caitya of Laṅkā mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa, yuddhakāṇḍa, 85. 29, 82.24, 84.14 etc., was a shrine dedicated to Nikumbhilā according to commentators. Thus the *caitya-daivata* of the Arthaśāstra means a deity in a caitya or shrine (edifice) and *daivata-caitya* of the same text refers to a sanctuary or edifice dedicated to a god or a spirit.

Kauṭilya refers to *pūjā* offered to caityas by people in order to avert evil attacks of demons. On the full and new moon days the caitya was propitiated by offering at the altar an umbrella, a small flag and goat's flesh (Bk. IV. chp. 3). We see the prominence of Caitya worship in the age of the

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[1] ततो धान्यधनोपेतान् दानशीलजनाश्रितान्।
अकुतश्चिद्भयान्रम्याँश्चैत्ययूपसमावृतान्॥ *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 50. 8.

[2] cf. देवायतनचैत्येषु सान्नभक्ष्याः सदक्षिणाः। *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 3. 18.
Here चैत्य is explained by comm. as रथ्यावृक्ष.

[3] निकुम्भिलाचैत्यमभिययौ, चैत्यं रावणपालितम्॥ *Rāmā.* VI. 85. 29; also, see, ibid., VI. 82. 24; 84.14
Compare—*Rāmā.* VI. 39. 21-23.
घनैरिवातपापाये मध्यमं वैष्णवं पदम्॥ २१॥
यस्य स्तम्भसहस्रेण प्रासादः समलंकृतः।
कैलासशिखराकारो दृश्यते खमिवोल्लिखन्॥ २२॥
चैत्यः स राक्षसेन्द्रस्य बभूव पुरभूषणम्।
cf. Comm.:—चैत्यं वर्तुलाकारत्वात् बुद्धायतनमिव प्रासादम्।

[4] Also see, *Arthaśāstra*, IV. 3; XIII-1.; XIII. 2; and comm. of Mādhavayajvā on all these passages.

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Arthaśāstra. In the words of Dikshitar, "From that of the shrine the application of Caitya was extended to a *bimba* or deity in the shrine." [1]

It seems that Caitya meaning something piled-up, a fire-altar, a yajñasthāna, had started acquiring the sense of a memorial or relic structure. The utensils etc. left at the end of a sacrifice, as also the site of the sacrifices like the piled-up Garuḍa-cayana, protected with a compound-wall, served the purpose of a sacred memorial of the sacrifice once performed. Of such use were also the *caitya-yūpas* or sacrificial posts. Funeral memorials were also in vogue and the funeral pile or funeral mound could also obtain the designation of a citya or caitya since it was regarded as something sacred, fit for offering. A *caitya-druma* could also exist on the cremation ground. The Arthaśāstra refers to such trees in Bk. XIII. 2. and V. 2. where the expression *caitya-sthāna* refers to the burial ground. Vālmīki describes that Rāvaṇa was as fearful looking as the *śmaśāna-caitya* which, according to Dikshitar, only means the caitya or tree growing in the burial ground.' In the Rāmāyaṇa, I. 58.12, चित्यमाल्यानुलेप is explained by Govindarāja as—चिता श्मशानं तत्रभवं चित्यं तादृशं माल्यम् ।

According to Manu, X. 50, underneath the shade of Caitya-trees in burial grounds, Caṇḍāla and similar castes were to find their residence. Trees and *asthi-caityas* etc., served as boundaries of a grāma or janapada according to Yājñavalkya, II. 151.

But *Caitya-vṛkṣas* were not confined to burial grounds only. Tree-worship was an age-long practice in India and latterly some trees became demarcated caityas and worship was offered to them. Of such type are also the shrines of the Bodhi-tree illustrated in reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñchī showing the adoption of the ancient Tree-Worship by the Buddhists. In some cases the *caitya-vṛkṣas* served as boundaries of gardens and fields. [2] Felling of branches of trees of a caitya or of caityas is prohibited by Yājñavalkya, II. 228. The grāma-caityas of Meghadūta, 23, are interpreted as caitya-vṛkṣas by Mallinātha who quotes Viśvaprakāśa-kośa of Maheśvara in support. [3] Kulluka on Manu, 10.50, explains *caitya-druma* as *grāmādisamīpe khyātavṛkṣah*. The Trikāṇḍaśeṣakośa gives Caitya-druma as a synonym of the Pippla tree. [4] The Aśvattha tree is treated as the Tree of Life in the Bhagavad-Gītā, adhyāya XV. [5]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

[2] *Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra*, II. 4 and 35

[3] 'चैत्यमायतने वृद्धवन्द्ये चोद्देशपादपे । इति विश्वः'.

[4] पिप्पलो बादरंगः स्यात् चैत्यद्रुमः केशवालयः

[5] For the conception of Tree of Life, see, Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*. With this one may also note the conception of कल्पद्रुम or The Wish-giving Tree.

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It seems that a sacred tree demarcated for worship was called a *caitya-tree* when it had a platform or a railing round the stem, something piled-up and marking it as a holy object. [1]

In Buddhist literature, Cetiya came to be generally used in the sense of a hallow, a sacred-symbol or cult-object but not exclusively as a funeral relic. In the Kaliṅgabodhi-Jātaka (J. iv. 228), Buddha asks how many kinds of hallows (*cetiya*) there are? Three, says, Ānanda, with implied reference to contemporary non-Buddhist usage, "namely, those of the body (śārīraka), those of association (pāribhogaka) and those prescribed (uddeśika)." The Buddha rejects the śāriraka and the uddeśika on different grounds and recommends that "only a Mahābodhi-rukkha, Great-Wisdom-Tree, that has been associated with a *Buddha* is fit to be a *cetiya*, whether the Buddha be still living, or Absolutely Extinguished." [2] This occurs also in the Mahābodhi-vaṁśa (PTS. ed., p. 59). Commenting on this passage, Dr. Coomaraswamy writes, "a cetiya, as appears from the present text and elsewhere, is not primarily a building, but any object made use of as a sacred symbol or cult-object. A shrine in the sense of a "temple" is a *cetiya gṛha*." [3] But it is true that the tree (and the symbols like the wheel, the lotus etc.) had older than Buddhist application as suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy, for had not Sujātā indeed mistaken the Boddhisattva for a *rukkha-devatā*?

The Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā (PTS. ed., 1915, p. 222) explains *uddisaka-cetiyam* as *Buddha-patimā*.

In the Lalitavistara of the Buddhists we find a *Cetiya* erected at the spot from which Chandaka returned with Buddha's ornaments. It was called Chandaka-nivartana-Caitya. Buddha's *cūḍā* (hair) was worshipped by Trāyastrimśa gods who erected a caitya in its honour. [4] Caitya of course was a pre-Buddha institution. We read in the Mahāparinibbāna sutta that Buddha spoke of the efficiency of erecting dhātu-caityas, and himself visited caityas like Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka etc. [5] The Dīgha Nikāya shows that Buddha lived at the Ānanda-cetiya in Bhojanagara. [6]

Let us now turn to the Jaina canoncial literature. The Ācārāṅga Sūtra refers to festivals in honour of *Ceiyas* (चेइयमहेसु) along with those (in honour)

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[1] The Jaina *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sū. 156, refers to the caitya-vṛkṣas of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. Abhayadeva commenting on the word writes :—चेइयरुक्खा-वद्धपीठवृक्षाः, येषामधः केवलान्युत्पन्नानि-इति.

[2] Also see, Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 3-7

[3] *Ibid*, p. 63.

[4] *Lalitavistara*, adhyāya 15, pp. 277-278.

[5] *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, Chp. III. 36-47.

[6] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II. p. 123.

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of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukunda, Bhūta, Yakṣa, Nāga, Stūpa, Vṛkṣa, Mountain, Agaḍa, tank, lake, river, ocean etc., and prohibits Jaina monks from accepting food distributed at such festivals.[1] A similar list is given in the Jñātādharmakathā-sūtra where, on seeing many people going out to see Mahāvīra, a person in Rājagṛha asks whether it was a festival in honour of Indra, Rudra etc.[2] Similarly, the Bhagavatī sūtra shows that when Mahāvīra reaches Kṣatriyakuṇḍa-grāma, Jamāli puts the same question on seeing people flocking to see Mahāvīra.[3] Paṇḍit Haṁsarāja Shāstri suggests that in these contexts, Ceiya or Cetiya-mahotsava is a festival at the end of a sacrifice.[4] Of course we are here reminded of the Caitya-yajña of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra, but the Caitya-mahotsava may be festival of any of the existing Caitya or holystead, a shrine, like the Pūrṇabhadra, Bahuputrikā, Guṇaśila and other Caityas mentioned in the Jaina texts or the Gotama, Ānanda and such other Caityas referred to in Buddhist works. But since Yakṣa, Nāga and others are separately mentioned in the lists of festivals noted above, it is just probable that the Caitya-mahotsava here refers to yajñasthāna or vedic cayana or to the three types of cetiyas discussed by Buddha or generally to all the holysteads and cult-objects not specified as Indra, Rudra, Stūpa, Vṛkṣa etc.

At another place in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra we find the use of the word चेइयाइं[5] where Ceiya is used in the sense of a structure or edifice (a piled-up thing) erected and offered for residence to the Jaina monks. This explanation offered by the commentator Śilāṅka-ācārya[6] seems quite appropriate in the context.

A third type of reference to Ceiya in the Ācārāṅga is still more interesting as it speaks of रुक्खं वा चेइयकडं, थूभं वा चेइयकडं (Ācā. 12. 1.3.3., p. 352). Śilāṅka explains this as: रुक्खं वा चेइयकडंति वृक्षस्याधो व्यन्तरादिस्थलकं, स्तूपं वा व्यन्तरादिकृतं.....। Evidently the tree or stūpa is here said to be *caityādhiṣṭhita* or *caityopalakṣita*.[7]

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[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* 2. 1. 1. 2, p. 328.

[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1. 25, p. 23.

[3] *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, śataka 9, uddeśa 33.

[4] चैत्यवाद समीक्षा, p. 55.

[5] *Ācārāṅga*, 2.1. 2.2 sū., 80, pp. 366-67.

[6] cf:—तदेवंभूतैः आगारादिभिः गृहस्थैः बहून श्रमणादीन् उद्दिश्य तत्र तत्र आरामादौ यानशालादीनि स्वार्थं कुर्वद्भिः श्रमणाद्यवकाशार्थं 'चेइयाइं' महान्ति कृतानि भवन्ति, तानि चागाराणि स्वनामग्राहं दर्शयन्ति.. । *op. cit.*, p. 366.

[7] With this one may also note references to चैत्यवृक्षs, चैत्यस्तूपs, and चैत्यस्तम्भs, in *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, (D.L.J.P.F. no. 50), sū. 142, pp. 251-252, sū. 137, pp. 225 ff. For चैत्यस्तूपs also see *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 1, 2. sū. 33, p. 158 and Comm. of Śānticandra on p. 163.

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Paṇḍit Haṁsarāja Shāstri thinks that even here चैत्यकृतवृक्ष and चैत्यकृतस्तूप suggest यज्ञिय or यज्ञसम्बन्धि वृक्ष and यज्ञसम्बन्धि-स्तूप. In support of his explanation he cites the Laugākṣa-Gṛhya-Sūtra (5.1.71)—यज्ञियस्य वृक्षस्य प्रागायतां शाखां। But what about the expression चैत्यकृत-स्तूप? Does *ceiyakaḍam* here mean intended for worship, intended as a cult-object?

In the Ācārāṅga sūtra a Jaina monk is asked not to ease himself or pass water on the sites of funeral caityas or funeral stūpas (मडयचेइगेसु वा मडयथूमियासु वा = मृतकचैत्येषु वा मृतकस्तूपिकासु वा –).[4] Here caitya is used in the sense of a relic sanctuary or structure (something piled-up) demarcating a sacred spot; the sense of its being a funeral one is conveyed by the word मडय = मृतक. Thus here again Caitya has the sense of a holystead.

A stock expression कल्लाणं मंगलं देवयं चेइयं विणएणं पज्जुवासणिज्जो or पज्जुवासेमो is often met with in the Jaina canons. Below are quoted some of these references:—

(1) तहारूवं समणं वा माहणं वा वंदित्ता नमंसित्ता सक्कारेत्ता सम्माणेत्ता कल्लाणं मंगलं देवयं चेइयं पज्जुवासेत्ता। (*Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 3. 1.)

Abhayadeva sūri, commenting says,—कल्याणं समृद्धिस्तद्धेतुत्वात्, साधुरपि कल्याणं, एवं मंगलं विघ्नक्षयस्तद्योगात् मंगलं, दैवतं इव (देवतेव) दैवतं, चैत्यमिव-जिनादिप्रतिमेव चैत्यं श्रमणं पर्युपास्य उपसेव्येति।

(2) तं गच्छामो णं देवाणुप्पिया! समणं भगवं महावीरं वंदामो णमंसामो सक्कारेमो सम्माणेमो कल्लाणं मंगलं देवयं चेइयं पज्जुवासेमो। (*Rāyapaseṇaiyam*, ed. by Pt. Becharḍās, p. 39; also see, *Aupapātika sūtra*, sū. 27).

(3) तं गच्छामि णं समणं भगवं महावीरं वंदामि नमंसामि सेयं खलु मे समणं भगवं महावीरं वंदित्ता नमंसित्ता सक्कारेत्ता सम्माणेत्ता कल्लाणं मंगलं देवयं चेइयं पज्जुवासेत्ता। (*Bhagavatī sūtra*, 2.1. sū. 91, pp. 113 ff.)

Abhayadeva sūri explains:—दैवतं दैवं चैत्यम्–इष्टदेवप्रतिमा चैत्यमेव चैत्यं...। He gives the same explanation on the Aupapātika sūtra passage noted above.

(4) Different Caityas are referred to in Jaina sūtras. They are generally situated on the outskirts of a village, town or a big city and Mahāvīra is often reported to have stayed in the different caityas at different places during his wanderings. Thus he stayed in the Pūrṇabhadra caitya outside the city of Campā, in the Āmraśālavana-Ca. at Āmalakappā, in the Guṇaśīla-Ca. at Rājagṛha and so on. In all such references the commentators explain Caitya as a *Vyantara-āyatana, i. e.*, a shrine of a deity of the Vyantara class of gods. Sometimes in the Vipāka sūtra we find the term *Jakkhāyayaṇa* used by the

[4] *Ācārāṅga*, 2.2.3, sū. 166, p. 410.

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text itself. The Antagaḍadasão Sutta refers to a shrine of Mudgarapāṇi-*yakṣa* at Rājagṛha. The stock description of such Caityas is the description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya given in the Aupapātika Sūtra. And in this description itself, the Pūrṇabhadra-Caitya is described as कल्लाणं मंगल देवयं चेइयं विणएणं पज्जुवासणिज्जो । Abhayadeva, the commentator, explains this as कल्याणं अर्थहेतुः, मंगलं अनर्थप्रतिपत्ति-हेतुः, दैवतं-देवः चैत्यं इष्टदेवप्रतिमा..... 1(p. 4).

We are here reminded of those passages from the Arthaśāstra (discussed above) which use an identical expression दैवतं चैत्यं, as also चैत्य दैवत and help us to arrive at a correct understanding of the *devayam ceiyam* of the Jaina Aṅga texts. देवयं goes with चेइयं and the expression should be understood as referring to a sanctuary dedicated to a god or a spirit, the चैत्यदैवत meaning the *god in a caitya.*

Viewed in this light, the passage of the Áśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra referring to *Caitya-yajña* and enjoining a bali to *caitya* would be taken to refer to a shrine dedicated to some *devatā* to which an offering was to be offered. The Jaina references are from works later than the Gṛhya Sūtra but they refer to conditions already existing in the age of Mahāvīra and we need not doubt the validity of the Jaina statements when other known evidences do not contradict them.

The archaeological evidences of Yakṣa statues dating from the Mauryan age (*e. g.* the Didārganj yakṣī) would show the existence of Daivata Caityas and Caitya Devatās in the Mauryan age. The Pūrṇabhadra Caitya described in the Jaina Aupapātika Sūtra is called *Porāṇa* and *Cirālīta*, old, ancient and well-renowned. Mahāvīra stayed in this Caitya, which was already porāṇa and cirātīta in his age.[1]

We have also seen that the Buddhists used Cetiya in the sense of a hallow and cult-object. But Cetiya also denoted a stūpa and as noted by Dikshitar Cetiya is similarly used in the Tamil language also. A question arises: Was this term Caitya or Cetiya adopted from the Dravidians and other races by the Aryans or was it originally Aryan ?

The original etymological sense seems to be of something piled up-from

[1] The Pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭa in the shrine is described as shining like a mirror and soft to touch like butter. Evidently it had a highly polished surface. If it was a terracotta plaque, as the prefix Pṛthvī would suggest, then it was technically like the N. B. P. Ware which can now be dated from c. 6th century B. C. Thus Pūrṇabhadra Caitya was indeed porāṇa and cirātīta. Cf. Shah, U. P., *So-called Mauryan Polish in Jain Literature*, Journ. of the M. S. University of Baroda, June 1955.

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√ci-cayane, but since caitya or cetiya was used also with reference to funeral relics and objects of worship or sanctuaies of Yakṣas, etc., where *bhakti* predominates, is it possible to infer that the term *Daivata Caitya* was used in order to differentiate such shrines from *Yajñiya caityas* or *Yajñiya cityas* as also from *Mṛtaka caityas ?*

The above analysis will show that Caityas existed in the pre-Buddha epoch, at least in the sixth century B.C., or say in the later part of the Sūtra period. These caityas were sanctuaries, holysteads, both with or without an icon, including *dhātu-caityas*. The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya in the Aupapātika shows that the text does not refer to any image of the Yakṣa statue worshipped in it and the Pṛthvī-Śilā-paṭṭa at the stem of the Aśoka tree in the forest-grove of the Caitya was possibly meant to represent the Pūrṇabhadra Yakṣa, or else the text as handed down in the Valabhī vācanā is incomplete. But the Antagaḍadasāo refers to another shrine of *Moggarapāṇi Jakkha* which *did* contain an image of the *Mudgarapāṇi yakṣa*, so called because he held an iron club in his hand.[1]

Mahāvīra would not stay in the *Yajñiya-cityas, Yajña-śālās*. He stayed in Caityas which were certainly non-Vedic in character and at the same time were visited by a large number of the masses.[2] It is therefore advisable to regard the Pūrṇabhadra and such other Caityas[3] as essentially non-Vedic, non-Aryan in origin, one of the essential elements of which seems to be a big Caitya-vṛkṣa with a Śilā-paṭṭa below it. It is for this reason that both Buddhism and Jainism lay stress on the Caitya-vṛkṣas in their worship. Let us see how a Caitya of Tīrthaṅkaras is described in the Jaina canonical works.

The Bhagavatī sūtra discusses the supernatural powers of certain classes of Jaina monks who can fly to the mythical Nandīśvara-dvīpa and worship the Caityas thereon.[4] These *ceiyāiṃ* are obviously the Śāśvata-Jina-āyatanās situated on the different mountains, also referred to as Siddhāyatanas in different texts. The stock description of a Siddhāyatana shows that there were *mukhamaṇḍapas* in front of each of the four entrances to the shrine, in front of each mukhamaṇḍapa is a *prekṣāgṛha* or theatre. In front of each theatre was a *cetita-thūbha* on a *maṇipīṭhiakā*. In front of each stūpa was a jewelled platform above which were images of Jinas (*Jina-padimā*) facing the stūpa. There were also jewelled platforms with a *cetita-rukkha* (caitya-vṛkṣa)

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[1] *Antagaḍadasāo* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed.), sūtra 13, pp. 19 ff.

[2] See, *Yakshas*, Part 1 and 2, by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

[3] For a list of such Caityas from Jaina texts, see, Shah, U. P., *Yakṣa Worship In Early Jaina Literature*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. III. no. 1.

[4] *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 20. 9, sū. 684, 794.

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on each of them.[1]

In both the above-mentioned cases, namely, *celita-thūbha* and the *celita-rukkha*, the sense of a funeral relic is not fully warranted.[2] In fact, Jaina texts speak of *Māṇavaka-stambhas* on which bone-relics *sakahā* of the Jinas were worshipped by keeping them in round diamond-boxes hung on the pillars. These stambhas are said to have been situated in the Sudharmā sabhā of different Indras.[3]

Thus the Caitya-vṛkṣas in the above description need not be funeral relics but are only Holy Trees with a platform below. Even the caitya-stūpas in the above description need not necessarily be funeral mounds. Firstly, we must remember that this is a description of a shrine in heavens whose counterpart on earth is nowhere referred to in the Jaina canons. Mahāvīra is never said to have visited a Jina-āyatana. Obviously, shrines dedicated to Tīrthaṅkaras seem to post-date Mahāvīrā[4] and the passages referring to Śāśvata-Jināyatanas

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[1] *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed.), 4. 2. sūtra 307, Vol. I. pp. 229 ff.

[2] cf. Abhayadeva's commentary—चेतितथूभा चैत्यस्य सिद्धायतनस्य प्रत्यासन्ना स्तूपाः प्रतीताश्चैत्यस्तूपाः, चित्ताल्हादकत्वाद्वा चैत्याः स्तूपाः चैत्यस्तूपाः.....। *Ibid.*, p. 232.

For a description of such Caitya-stūpas, see, *Rāyapaseṇaijjam* (Vaidya's edition, Ahmedabad, 1938), pp. 53-56.

[3] cf. ".....सोहम्मे कप्पे सुहम्माए सभाए माणवए चेइयखंभे हेट्ठा उवरिं च अद्धतेरस अद्धतेरस जोयणाणि वज्जेत्ता मज्झे पणतीस जोयणेसु वइरामएसु गोलवट्टसमुग्गएसु जिणसकहाओ पण्णत्ता.....। *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, sū. 35, p. 63; also see Abhayadeva's comm. thereon.

[4] Shrines of Arhats are referred to in other contexts on rare occasions. The following references to such shrines may be noted:—

(a) णण्णत्थ अरिहंते वा अरिहंतचेइयाणि वा अणगारे वा भावियप्पणो णीसाए उड्ढं उप्पयति जाव सोहम्मो कप्पो.....। *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 3. 2. sūtra 145, p. 175.

(b) "तए णं से आणन्दे गाहावई.....एवं वयासी।" नो खलु मे भन्ते कप्पइ अज्ज-प्पभिइं अन्नउत्थिए वा अन्नउत्थियदेवयाणि वा अन्नउत्थियपरिग्गहियाणि अरिहंतचेइयाइं वा वन्दित्तए वा नमंसित्तए वा.....।"

Uvāsagadasāo (Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhavnagar, ed.), p. 14.

The commentator Abhayadeva Sūri says—अन्ययूथिकदैवतानि वा हरिहरादीनि। अन्ययूथिकपरिगृहीतानि वा अर्हच्चैत्यानि अर्हन्प्रतिमालक्षणानि यथा भौतपरिगृहीतानि वीरभद्रमहाकाला-दिनि। *op. cit.*, p. 15.

It will be seen that the passage refers to a stage in Jaina history when some Jaina shrines were appropriated by other sects. The passage pre-supposes such untoward events and is therefore comparatively late.

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must be regarded as referring to an age later than the epochs suggested by the references to the Pūrṇabhadra and other caityas. Stūpa worship does not seem to have been so popular amongst the Jainas as amongst the Buddhists, because image-worship seems to have started earlier in Jainsm than in Buddhism. So, the inclusion of Cetita-thūbhas in a Siddhāyatana is only due to the popularity of Stūpa worship in India, amongst other sects, especially amongst the Buddhists. This does not however mean that Stūpa worship did not exist in Jainism. Only, the author of the description knew full well that the stūpas in the different Siddhāyatanas in heavens were not raised on cremation grounds of the various Tīrthaṅkaras.

Jaina commentators explain Caitya in the following manner :—

चितेर्लेप्यादिचयनस्य भावः कर्म वा चैत्यम्, तच्च संज्ञाशब्दत्वाद्देवताबिम्बे प्रसिद्धं, ततः तदाश्रयभूतं यद्देवतायाः गृहं तदप्युपचाराच्चैत्यमुच्यते ।[1]

Thus though caitya is derived from *citi* or *cita*, the meaning of the term is extended to an image of a deity, and since a shrine is an abode of the image (caitya), the abode is also called Caityam by uapacāra.[2]

The word *ceie* in the Uttarādhyayana, 9. 9. 10 is interpreted by the commentator as udyāna or park and Jacobi suggests that it meant "a tree".[3] Sacred trees were called Caityas in the Epics where it is said that 'not even the leaf of a Caitya may be destroyed, for the Caityas are the resort of Devas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Apsarasas, Bhūtas etc.[4] We have however the evidence of a Harappā seal showing a tree enclosed in a railing,[5] which was nothing but the worship of Caitya-vṛkṣas, though it is not possible to say whether the term Caitya or Caitya-vṛkṣa was current in the age of the Harappā seal.

Two processes then seem to have worked: one regarding Caitya primarily as Cayana or Yajñasthāna and secondarily as anything piled up, the other connected with piling up of a tumulus over remains of the dead, the *śmaśāna* being four-cornered or round as shown by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[6] Being a piled-up sacred object, deserving worship and offering, it came to be known

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[1] Commentary of Śānticandra on *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, sū. 1, p. 9. Also see, Abhayadeva's comm. on *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 1. 1., explaining Caitya in identical expression.

[2] Cf. the use of the term *caityālaya* in पुण्णो वि वीयरागाणां पडिमाउ चेइयालए etc., *Mahāniśītha sūtra*, ms. B.O.R.I., no. 165 of 1881-82, folio 2.

[3] *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, ix. 9., SBE. Vol. XLV, p. 36 and note.

[4] *Mahābhārata*, Śānti parva, 69. 42; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*., p. 47.

[5] *Vedic Age*, p. 188 and pl. VII. 8.

[6] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE. Vol. XLIV. pp. 424-29; also see, Shah, Priyabālā, *Aiḍūka*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, I. No. 3., pp. 278 ff.

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as Caitya or Caity-stūpa. A sacred tree with a platform erected at base (piled-up) or enclosed in a railing, being an object of worship, came to be called a Caitya or Caitya-vṛkṣa. Thus all sacred objects and places of worship came to be called Caityas. The idol or the cult-object worshipped in such a shrine also gradually came to be called a Caitya. The processes seems to be just the reverse of what has been imagined by the Jaina commentators in their explanation of the word Caitya, in the passage cited above.

This is only tracing the origin and development of the term Caitya and not necessarily of the objects to which it was applied. It must however be remembered that the four-sided *Daiva* or the round *Āsura Prācya* śmaśānas or funeral mounds referred to by the Śatapatha, were not mentioned as Caityas or Caitya-stūpas in the Śatapatha though later known as such and though their worship existed from very early times.

It would be a mistake to suppose, as has been done by Dikshitar and others that Cetiya in the Buddhist passages of the Mahāparinibbāna sutta[1] and the Dīgha Nikāya,[2] referred to funeral mounds or Stūpas only of Udena, Sattambaka and others. The Bahuputtikā-cetiyam in the Mahāparinibbāna sutta is really identical with the caitya of the same name at Viśālā (Vaiśālī) and Mithilā mentioned in the Jaina Bhagavatī and the Vipāka sūtras. The Bahuputrikā Caitya was dedicated to a goddess of the name who was a prototype of the later Buddhist Hārīti. Some of these Buddhist Cetiyas were therefore similar to the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya described in the Aupapātika sūtra. Jaina commentators have rightly called it a Yakṣa-āyatana since Pūrṇabhadra and Māṇibhadra are well-known as ancient Yakṣas.

The Pūrṇabhadra Caitya was in the udyāna or park called Āmraśālavana, situated to the N. E. of the city of Campā. It was very old in age (cirātīta) recognised by people of old, ancient (porāṇa), famous, praised everywhere, and *jñāta* (? of the Jñātṛ-people ?). It was decorated with an umbrella (or umbrellas), banners, bells, flags, *atipatākās* (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or brushes of peacock-feathers (*lomahatthaga*) and having a railing (*vitardikā-vedikā*, according to Abhayadeva, which would also mean, 'containing a sacrificial altar'), its inside floor was coated with cow-dug and the wall-surfaces were polished by rubbing with cowries; it bore palm-impressions in red-giśīrṣa or dardara-sandal, was adorned with *candana ghaṭas* (auspicious jars), and on its entrance-doors were *toraṇas* (arches) with candana-ghaṭa decorations. It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water and garlands were hung;

[1] *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Chap. III. secs. 36-47. Also, Fleet's article in J. R. A. S., (1906), pp. 657 ff; Law B. C., *History of Pali Literature*, p. 100

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II. p. 113. For a discussion on the Cetiyas of Buddhist Literature, see, Law, B. C., *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix.

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it was odorous with flowers of five colours, and with burning incense of *kālāguru*, *kundurukka* and *turukka*. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers (*jalla*), wrestlers, boxers, experts in mimics (*viḍambaka*), ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers (*lāsaka*), picture-showmen (*maṅkha*), pipe-players, lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved praise, offerings, worship with sandal-paste etc., gifts, adoration and respect, and which like a benefic, auspicious, *devayam* (divine acc. to comm.) *ceiam* (image, according to commentators), deserved to be propitiated with due respect, which when worshipped with desire, did not fail to fulfil it (*saccopāye*) and which was attended upon by divine *prātihāryas*. It deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices. (*Aupapātika sūtra, sūtra* 2).

On all sides of it was a big forest-grove (*vanakhaṇḍa*) with a central big Aśoka-tree (obviously a Caitya-vṛkṣa) with a *Pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭa* under it attached to its stem.[1] (*Aupapātika, sūtra*, sū. 3-5).

What was the plan of the Caitya ? The text is silent and it seems as if one or more sūtras are missing. It may be inferred that it had more than one entrance, probably one in each direction, and a walled structure. It may be said that it was something like the *Bodhi*-shrine in a Śuṅga relief from Mathurā (now in Boston Museum) illustrated by Coomaraswamy, HIIA, fig. 70. (also cf. his fig. 69).

It seems that a yakṣa shrine was walled or open square hall with the stone umbrella over the deity serving as a roof, with four poles supporting the umbrella at four ends and with a central pole against which stood either one image or four images on four sides.[2] It was the prototype of the *Gandhakuṭi* of a Jina in his Samavasaraṇa (which we shall have occasion to discuss later under 'samavasaraṇa'). It is further inferred from representations like fig. 69, 69A, of HIIA, that such tiered shrines have for their basis the conception of *Jārūka* or *ziggurat* (or *Aiḍūka*), discussed by Dr. V. S. Agarwaal,[3] which were

[1] Discussed later under *Caitya-vṛkṣas* in this work.

[2] This stone structure probably had an earlier wooden prototype. For memorial Stone-Umbrellas and the Jaina account of them, see, *Stone Umbrellas From Mathurā*. by U. P. Shah, *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIV (1951).

[3] Agrawala, V. S., *Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XXIII. (1950), pp. 151-152. Dr. Priyabālā Shah is evidently wrong in suggesting that Aiḍūkas or Eḍūkas are Brahmanical or Vedic in origin. The Samavasaraṇa is based upon the architecture of a Stūpa which latter seems to have for its prototype that of the Ziggurat with three or more tiers. The Stūpa, the Ziggurat or the Samavasaraṇa are open or visible on all sides. The Gandhakuṭi is the pavilion (open on 4 sides) on a dais in the centre of a Samavasaraṇa. In it sits the Jina visible on all sides.

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tiered structures or caityas. The Jaina description of the Samavasaraṇa, shorn of its poetic fancies and elaboration of later details, preserves for us the main plan of the Daiva or Āsurya funeral mound (*śmaśāna*) referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for, the Samavasaraṇa is also said to be either square or circular in plan. Detailed descriptions of a Jaina Stūpa are missing in the Jaina canons, but the conception of a Samavasaraṇa faithfully preserves the plan of such stūpas (cf. fig. 6 with fig. 76) as also their essentials, and it seems the popularity of representations of Samavasaraṇa ultimately replaced the Stūpa-symbolism in Jaina worship.

The stock description of a Jaina temple in Jaina canons is that of the Siddhāyatana. The Siddhāyatana to the N. E. of the Sudharmā Sabhā of Vijaya deva was 13½ yojanas in length and 6 yojanas and one krośa (about half of the length) in breadth and nine yojanas in height. It had on it, above the entrance door-way, the *vedikā*-panel motif[1] and an arch, surmounted by Śālabhañjikās; it had beautiful pillars (round?) of Vaiḍūrya gems, its floor inlaid with gems and gold and silver, its walls decorated with figures of mythical animals (*īhāmṛga*), oxen, Kinnaras (half-men and half-horses or-birds) crocodile, birds, dragons, winged-deer (*sarabha*), yaks (*camara*), elephants, creepers and lotus-rhizomes. The abacus of columns had crowning figures of Vidyādhara pairs, with mechanism to show them moving. The shrine was adorned with thousands of sculptures or reliefs and with many domes (*thubhiya*), the tops decorated with bells, flags etc., white, lustrous, adorned with palm-impressions of different sandal; its gates were adorned with auspicious pictures and arches surmounted by candana-ghaṭas; there were flowers, garlands, perfumes and incenses. It was adorned with figures of apsarasas.

The shrine had three entrances. In front of each entrance was a portico (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) adorned with the aṣṭamaṅgala-motifs. In frount of these were *prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapas* or assembly halls (theatres). In front of each prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapa was a *Caitya-stūpa* on a *maṇi-pīṭhikā* (jewelled platforms). The Caitya-stūpas were white and shining, each two yojanas in area (*āyāma*-circumference, or length × breadth) and more than two yojanas in height, its surface covered with jewels, and surmounted by *aṣṭamaṅgalas*, black chowries and flags. On four sides of each stūpa were maṇipīṭhikās, each platform surmounted by Jina figures sitting in the *paryaṅka-āsana* (padmāsana), and facing the stūpa.

In front of each Caitya-stūpa was a maṇipīṭhikā with a Caitya-vṛkṣa on it. In front of each *Caitya-vṛkṣa* was a maṇipīṭhikā surmounted by a *mahendra-dhvaja* (*Indra—dhvaja*) with a round staff and adorned with thousands of flags,

[1] Cf. HIIA., fig. 43; The motif is seen at Bhārhut and Sāñchī and also in several cave-temples.

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aṣṭamaṅgalas etc. In front of each *mahendradhvaja* was a *Nandā-puṣkariṇī*, an artificial reservoir or tank.

In the centre of the Siddhāyatana, was a big maṇipīṭhikā, two yojanas in length and breadth and one yojana in height, on which was a big *Devacchandaka* (two yojanas in length and breadth and a little more than two yojanas in height), all made of jewels. In this Devacchandaka were installed 108 life-size images of Tīrthaṅkaras. On top of the Siddhāyatana were aṣṭamaṅgalas, flags etc.

It seems that the Devacchandaka was a sort of miniature shrine with pillars and arches in fornt. It may be a row of miniature shrines or ornamental niches, each with an image of one Jina.

The above account from Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra, 3.2. 137 ff., includes all types of Jaina worship practised in ancient times, except māṇavaka-stambhas etc. which will be described later. The Caityastūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas and the Mahendradhvajas described here do not form part of the main structure of the Siddhāyatana. It seems that the Jaina temple (of the age of composition of this passage) consisted of a sanctum, an adjacent hall (or rather a portico only) and a prekṣāmaṇḍapa. This last mentioned hall was possibly a little separated from the main structure though the Jaina texts do not explicitly say so. The plan of the shrine would suggest that the passage dates from the Gupta Age. Though the plan of the shrine can be assigned to this age, it must be remembered that the general description of decorative motifs, pillars etc., is of a much earlier tradition reaching back to at least the Kuṣāna age and sometimes to the age of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī stūpas.

This is further suggested by the descriptions of Caitya-stūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas etc. as apart from the main shrine thus showing that there were such separate cult-objects, analogous to such reliefs from Bhārhut, cf. *HIIA.*, figures 55, 70, 41 (Bodhi-tree), 45 (Dharma-cakra shrine), 42 (Caitya-stūpa), also from Amarāvati, illustrated in *HIIA.*, figures 142 and 144-146.

The Jaina account of the origin of Stūpas and Caityas must be referred to. Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras believe that the first person to erect on this earth the temples of the 24 Jinas of this age was Bharata Cakra-vartin, the son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha.[2] Referring to the Nirvāṇa of Ṛṣabha, the Āvaśyaka Niryukti says:—

निव्वाणं चिइगाई जिणस्स इक्खाग सेसयाणं च ।
सक्कहा थूभ जिणहरे जायग तेणाहिअग्गित्ति ॥ gāthā 435.

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[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE. XLIV, pp. 424-29. Also see, Shah Priya-bālā, *Aiḍūka*, Joun. of the Oriental Institute, I. 3., pp. 278 ff.

[2] cf. *Vasubindu-Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha*, V. 17, p. 6.

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Haribhadra sūri, commenting on above,[1] says that Bharata erected in honour of the Lord, a Stūpa and a temple called Simhaniṣadyā-āyatana, one yojana in area and three gavyūtis in height and installed therein life-size images of the twenty-four Jinas, as also images of his hundred brothers, including an image of himself and in order to protect violation from others, placed as gate-keepers, mechanical figures made of iron (*lohamayān yantra-puruṣān*). This he did on mt. Aṣṭāpada (recognised generally as Kailāsa, often this Kailāsa is identified as Mt. Śatruñjaya) which is the site of Ṛṣabha's Nirvāṇa. The tradition is also given by the earlier Avaśyaka Cūrṇi[2] on the basis of the still earlier Mūla-Bhāṣya-gāthā on this Niryukti verse.[3]

The Jaina account of the cremation of a Tīrthaṅkara and the consequent collection of bone relics by Indra and other gods,[4] including erection of stūpas on the cremation site by these gods given in the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti is noteworthy as it gives us an insight into the contemporary method of cremation and because it obtains an interesting parallel with the cremation in Buddhist accounts discussed at length by Barua, *Bhārhut*, Vol. III, pp. 12-22. In the Jaina

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[1] *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, p. 169.

[2] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 223 ff. Also see, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 169 and pp. 300 ff.

[3] *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, p. 169, *Bhāṣya* verse 45.

[4] cf. *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* (Devachand Lalbhai Pustakoddhāra Fund, 1920), 2nd vakṣaskāra, sūtra 33, pp. 157-158 :—

"तए णं सक्के देविंदे देवराया...एवं वयासी—खिप्पामेव भो देवाणुप्पिआ,...गोसीसचंदणकट्ठाइं साहरह२त्ता तओ चिइगाओ रएह एगं भगवओ तित्थगरस्स एगं गणधराणं एगं अवसेसाणं अणगाराणं। तए णं ते...चिइगाओ रएंति...तए णं से सक्के...सद्दावेइ...खीरोदगं समुद्दाओ खीरोदगं साहरह... से सक्के...तित्थगरसरीरं खीरोदगेणं ण्हाणेति...सरसेणं गोसीसचंदणेणं अणुलिंपइ... हंसलक्खणं पडसाडयं णिअंसेइ...सव्वालंकारविभूसिअं करेंति...तए णं सक्के...वयासी...सिबियाओ विउव्वह...विउव्वंति...भगवओ...सरीरगं सीअं आरुहेंति...त्ता चिइगाए ठवेंति, तए णं से सक्के... अग्गिकुमारे देवे सद्दावेइ...चिइगाए...अगणिकायं विउव्वह...विउव्वंति...तए णं से सक्के...मेहकुमारे देवे सद्दावेइ...चिइगं खीरोदगेणं णिव्वावेह...णिव्वावेंति, तए णं से सक्के देविंदे देवराया भगवओतित्थगरस्स उवरिल्लं दाहिणं सकहं गेण्हइ, ईसाणे...उवरिल्लं वामं सकहं गेण्हइ, चमरे असुरिंदे...हिट्ठिल्लं दाहिणं सकहं गेण्हइ, वली...हिट्ठिल्लं वामं...अवसेसा...देवा जहारिहं अवसेसाइं अंगमंगाइं केई जिणभत्तीए केई जीअमेअंति कट्टु केइ धम्मोत्तिकट्टु गेण्हंति, तए णं से सक्के...वयासी...सव्वरयणामए महइमहालए तओ चेइअथूभे करेह, एगं भगवओ तित्थगरस्स चिइगाए, एगं गणहरस्स एगं अवसेसाणं अणगाराणं चिइगाए,...करेंति...तए णं ते...देवा...परिणिव्वाणमहिमं करेंति...करेत्ता तेणेव... विमाणाइं जेणेव साइं भवणाइं जेणेव सभाओ सुहम्माओ जेणेव सगा२ चेइअखंभा तेणेव उवागच्छंति२त्ता वइरामएसु गोलवट्टसमुग्गएसु जिणसकहाओ परिक्खिवंति२ अग्गेहिं वरेहिं मल्लेहि अ गंधेहि अ अच्चेंति... । Also see, *Āvaśyaka Curṇi*, pp. 221-223.

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tradition as well as in the Buddhist ones the cremation is done in such a way as to save the various bones,[1] the process is described in details in Buddhist works whereas the Jaina accounts only show that the right and left bones were taken by various gods, which means that the bones were not reduced to ashes.

We are told that in the centre of the Sudharmā-sabhā[2] was a big maṇi-pīṭhikā two yojanas in area and one yojana in height (bāhalla); on it was a *Caitya-stambha* called *Māṇavaka*, 7½ yojanas high, ½ krośa in circumference, of six parts (*chakoḍie, ṣaṭkoṭikah, ṣaḍvigrahikah* or six-cornered?). Leaving six krośas from above, and six from below, on the central 5½ krośas were gold and silver boards with pegs (*nāgadanta*) with hangers (sikkaka) attached to the latter. In these hangers were round boxes of vajra in which were preserved many bones of Jinas, which were worshipped by the various gods and goddesses. On the Māṇavaka Caitya-Stambhas were placed aṣṭa-maṅgalas and umbrellas.

The Ādipurāṇa describes another type of pillars known as the Mānastambha, in the first rampart of a Samavasaraṇa. At the base of these pillars on four sides were placed four golden images of Jinas. The pillars were lofty and adorned with bells, fly-whisks etc.[3] They were placed on triple platforms (*trimekhalā*) and on top were triple-umbrellas. Being erected by Indra, they were also called *Indradhvajas*. They are also described in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti which says that the Jina images were on top of the pillars.[4]

The practice of erecting pillars or votive columns is very old. These *dhvajas* not only remind us of votive columns, one of whose early types was the wooden sthūṇā of Vedic times, but also the Yūpa of Vedic sacrifices.[5] The Besnagara Garuḍadhvaja is a famous example of a pillar in front of a shrine of Vāsudeva. Capitals of *tāla-dhvajas* and *makara-dhvajas* of Śaṅkarṣaṇa and Pradyumna have also been recovered.[6] The Banyan tree capital from

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[1] For Buddhist accounts, see *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*, and Barua, B. M., *Bhārhut*, Vol. III, pp. 12 ff. where he has compared Vedic traditions about cremation with Buddhist ones.

[2] *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū. 138, pp. 229 ff., also see *varṇaka* from sū. 137, p. 225.

[3] *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, 22. 92-102, pp. 515-16. The name Mānastambha is explained as follows:—

मानस्तम्भान्महामानयोगात् त्रैलोक्यमाननात् ।
अन्वर्थसंज्ञया तज्ज्ञैर्मानस्तम्भाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ १०२ ॥

[4] *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4. 779 ff.

[5] Also see, Banerji, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 114 and note for sources.

[6] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14*, pp. 188-91, pls. LII-LIV., *for 1914-15*, Part I, p. 21, pl. XVI-c.

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Besnagar, discovered by Cunningham, was mounted on a pillar in front a shrine of Vaiśramaṇa-Kubera.[1] The same practice was adopted by the Jainas, at least in another way. The Āyagapaṭa dedicated by Sīha Vāṇika (now in Lucknow Museum),[2] shows a pillar surmounted by a dharma-cakra and another surmounted by an elephant. Several pedestals of sculptures from the Kaṅkālī ṭīlā also show the worship of a Dharma-cakra mounted on a pillar.

Again, the Kahaon pillar with an inscription of the Gupta-age shows four Jinas on four sides at top, and one at its base.[3] Such figures are usually enshrined in a square pavilion on top open on four sides. This practice remains popular even to this day amongst the Digambaras. At Deogarh are certain pillars (fig. 56) which show variations in this Mānastambha. Sometimes, beside the four figures on top, four figures of minor deities—yakṣiṇīs and kṣetrapāla were added at base, while on top, sometimes a Gaṇadhara (or a big ācārya) was included in the group of Jinas. An elaboration of the same conception is the famous Jaina Kīrttistambha at Chitor (fig. 82).

Hemacandra ācārya, in his comm. on Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, I. 47-48, uses the word *dhvaja* for the lāñchanas of Tīrthaṅkars while Āśādhara calls them heralds of families of the Jinas.[4] In earlier texts such as the Kalpa sūtra we do not obtain any reference to lāñchanas, nor do we obtain them on pedestals ot Tīrthaṅkara images of the Kuṣāṇa age. It is therefore not known whether the lāñchanas were known before the Gupta age. 'Dhvaja' may be a banner, a herald and the lāñchana of a Jina may signify the mark or symbol crowning his herald. The Garuḍa-dhvaja might have been the herald of Vāsudeva, erected on a pillar in front of a shrine of the deity. Viewed in this light, it is not unlikely that in the Kuṣāṇa age there were such pillars or *dhvajas* in front of Jaina temples. Such pillars were surmounted by the herald or the lāñchanas of the various Jinas. As yet no such capitals or pillars have been discovered but the relief of such pillars in the Āyāgapaṭa noted above suggest the possibility of their future discovery.

Dr. Coomaraswamy has drawn our attention to the reliefs of Amarāvatī (Elements of Buddhist Iconography, figures 4-10) where the Buddha is represented as a fiery pillar with wheel-marked feet below supported by a lotus, and with a triśūla 'head,' and has shown that "they represent the survival of a purely Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the axis of the Universe, extending as a pillar between Earth and Heaven (cf. RV. VI. 16.13,

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[1] Also see, Banerji, J. N. *Op. cit.*, p. 116 and note.

[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K. *HIIA.*, fig. 71.

[3] For Kahaon pillar, see, Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 66-68.

[4] See *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 4. 214, p. 115.

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I. 59.1-2, IV. 13.5, X. 5.6. V. 29. 4.)".[1] This worship of Agni as *skambha* (or a *sthūṇā*) should, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, be regarded as the origin of later practice of erecting pillars dedicated to different deities and surmounted by their vāhanas (or dhvajas) or symbols like the Dharma-Cakra.

But what is this *skambha* originally? Is it Agni flaming high up and reaching the skies or an adoption and transformation by Vedic Aryans of the phallus worship, the phallus being originally simply understood as the creator and later also as supporter of the Universe? Dr. Coomaraswamy writes: 'The axis of the Universe is coincident also with the fiery Śiva-liṅgam set up, according to the Devadāruvana legend, in the foundations of the Earth and Extending upwards to Heavens."[2]

To revert to stūpa-worship in Jainism: A stūpa of the Jina Munisuvrata existed at Vesālā (Vaiśālī) according to the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, which gives the story of the 'Thubha' in illustrations of Pāriṇāmikī Buddhi. The Āvaśyaka Niryukti merely gives the catch word 'Thubha' which shows that the author of the Niryukti knew of the stūpa of Munisuvrata at Vaiśālī.[3]

The pedestal of a Jina image referring to Arhat Nandyāvarta, obtained from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was installed in the Devanirmita Stūpa according to the inscription on it dated in year 49 or 79.[4] Accerding to Jinaprabha sūri,[5] there was a Stūpa of Supārśvanātha at Mathurā, made of gold and jewels, erected by a goddess (devanirmita) in one night; during a controversy with other sects regarding its ownership, the goddess Kuberā is said to have guarded it and helped the Jainas. Later a king of Mathurā wanted to take away the gold, whereupon, the goddess became angry and wrought earthquakes and was pacified only when all the inhabitants of Mathurā agreed to carve a figure of a Jina on their door-lintels. Once Pārśvanātha came to Mathurā and preached the doctrine. After his departure, the goddess told the inhabitants and the King that bad times were approaching and that she would not live to protect the stūpa for ever in its uncovered condition. The priceless stūpa should therefore

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[1] *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 10 f.

[2] *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 66. He also refers to F. D. K. Bosch, "*Het Liṅga-Heiligdom van Dinaja*," Tijdschr. K. Bat. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschapen, LXIV. 1924. Compare the conception of Jyotir-liṅgas. One such liṅga with flames exists in the Bhārat-kalā-Bhavan, Banaras.

[3] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, vv. 949-51, *Haribhadra's Vṛtti*, p. 437; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 567.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā inscr. no. 20.

[5] *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* (Siṁghi Series), pp. 17-18.

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be covered under a super-structure of bricks. She also asked them to install in front a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha. This was done.

Digambara texts like the Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa of Hariṣena (932 A. D.) give a story of the origin of Five Stūpas at Mathurā,[1] all built by gods during a controversy with the Buddhists. Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka-campū also gives a similar account and refers to only one Devanirmita Stūpa at Mathurā.[2] As noted by Dr. Upadhye, Rājamalla (V. S. 1632) in his Jambūsvāmicaritra refers to the repair of Mathurā stūpas.[3] Now a Pañca-stūpānvaya or Pañca-stūpa-nikāya is connected with the locality of Mathurā and Jinasena, the author of Jayadhavalā says that he belonged to this lineage.[4]

The Pahārpur Copper plate, dated in the year 159 (478 A. D.) refers to Pañcastūpa-nikāya.[5] It is therefore certain that in and around Mathurā, five Jaina stūpas existed, one of them, the oldest and the most famous, formed the subject of the legends of the Devanirmita stūpa. As shown above it was called Devanirmita in an inscription of at least the second century A. D. (167 A. D.), according to the generally accepted calculations of the dates of these inscriptions. Haribhadra sūri, in his vṛtti on the Āvaśyaka Niryukti, also called it Devanirmita. But neither the inscription nor Haribhadra nor any Digambara tradition specifies it as a stūpa of Supārśvanātha. It is only Jinaprabha in the fourtteenth century who speaks of its having been a stūpa of Supārśvanātha. And when he says that Pārśvanātha was installed in front of the brick-superstructure (which actually must have been the original structure), it is not unreasonable to believe that the original Mathurā stūpa was a brick-stūpa dedicated to the memory of Pārśvanātha who flourished 250 years before the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, *i.e.*, in c. 777 B.C. A stūpa erected in this age would naturally be *devanirmita* to people of the Kuṣāṇa age when the age or object of its erection were forgotten. But another explanation may be ventured in the light of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa passage about Daiva and Āsurya śmaśānas or funeral mounds, the first being square and Aryan, the second, round and non-Āryan.

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[1] *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa*, ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye (Siṁghi Series), story no. 12, pp. 22-27.

[2] *Yaśastilaka-Campū*, Ok. VI. secs. 17, 18, Vol. II. p. 315; also see Handiqui, K. K., *Yaśastilaka Campū and Indian Culture*, pp. 415 ff.

[3] *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa*, notes, p. 379. Dr. Upadhye quotes the following verse from Rājamalla :—क्वचित्पंच क्वचिच्चाष्टौ क्वचिद्दश ततः परम् । क्वचित् विंशतिरेव स्यात् स्तूपानां च यथायथम् ॥

[4] See Introduction to *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena by Pandit Nathuram Premi, in *Harivaṁśa, Vol. I*, pp. 20 ff.

[5] *History of Bengal*, I. p. 410.

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A third explanation is also possible. Aśoka is said to have employed 'yakṣa' artists, according to Tārānātha who speaks of Nāga and Deva art as well. The art of the Mathurā Stūpa was here said to have been the work of what was supposed to be 'Deva-school.'

Jinapratha sūri further says that here Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (c. 500-600 A.D.) saved the manuscript of Mahāniśītha sūtra (from destruction), *i.e.*, he recovered the text and saved it from oblivion. When the stūpa fell in ruins, at the instance of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri (c. 826 V.S.—770 A.D.), it was covered with a superstructure having figures of Ambikā, Kṣetrapāla and Cillaniyā (?).

The Devanirmita Stūpa at Mathurā is thus one of the earliest known stūpas in India and should be assigned to the eighth century B.C., especially because the title given to it is in accord with the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tradition.[1]

The Sirkap stūpa with the motif of the double-headed eagle has been regarded as a Jaina stūpa on the analogy of the arched niches in the stūpa relief of the Mathurā Āyāgapaṭa dedicated by Loṇaśobhikā.[2] Marshall associated the Sirkapa stūpa with Jainism only because he could not connect it with Buddhism, but the total absence of any Jaina antiquity in the site recovered hitherto, need not be overlooked. Jaina tradition never speaks of a stūpa at Taxila, they only say that Bāhubali established here the worship of the Dharmacakra. We should therefore await further discoveries before calling it a Jaina stūpa. It may incidentally be noted that the Tablet of Loṇaśobhikā illustrated the type of a Jaina stūpa structure.

If Jinaprabha's account of the repairs by Bappabhaṭṭi is correct, then, the present writer feels that the stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is not likely to be the site of the Devanirmita stūpa as it is not likely that even a few sculptures of Bappabhaṭṭi's age could not survive at the site, and because Jinaprabha's account does not refer to any repairs in the Kuṣāṇa age. He seems to have believed that the brick-structure was not covered with stones before Bappabhaṭṭi's age.

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[1] *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, p. 454 on Niryukti gāthā 1012. Also cf. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, VI. 6275 and comm.; also Vol. V. 5824.

[1] Though spoken of as a description of the original appearance of the stūpa, Jinaprabha's description of it is of its last appearance, the talk about of gold and jewels is however poetic:—तओ तीए देवीए कंचणघडिओ रयणचिंचईओ अणेगसुरपरिवरिओ तोरणज्झयमालालंकिओ सिहरोवरि छत्तत्तयसाली.....मेहलातिगमंडिओ। इक्किक्काए मेहलाए चाउद्दिसं पंचवण्णरयणमंयाइं विवाइं। तत्थमूलपडिमा सिरिसुपाससामिणो पइट्ठाविआ। Then it was covered with bricks with an image of Pārśva in front. *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

[2] *A Guide to Taxila*, pl. XIII, p. 88. Smith, *JS.* pl. XII.

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3. CAITYA—VṚKṢAS

Existence of tree-worship in the Indus Valley Civilization is evidenced by representations on several seals and sealings. One of them shows a triśūla-horned deity with long hair, standing nude between two branches of a tree and a kneeling figure of a worshipper also with long hair armlets and horns, behind whom is a composite animal. The leaves of the tree appear like those of the *Pippala.*[1] One of the seals from Chanhu Daro also depicts the *Pippal Tree.*[2] "Some sealings from Harappā show trees enclosed by a wall or railing. It cannot at present be stated definitely whether tree worship pertained to trees in their natural state or to their indwelling spirits."[3]

Trees have been highly prized in India, at all times. They were useful in sacrifices for making the Yūpa (post for tying the sacrificial animal) for *idhma* (*samidha* offered in fire) and for sacrificial instruments like *sruva, juhu* etc. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (I. 1.3) speaks of seven holy trees. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā (III 4.8.4) states that *idhma* should be of *nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha* and *plakṣa* trees as they are the abodes of Gandharvas, Apsarasas etc. The Baudhāyana (II. 3.25) holds the *palāśa* tree so sacred that it prohibits its use for making seats, sandals, tooth-brushes etc. Patañjali quotes an ancient verse to the effect that if a person waters and tends mango-trees, his forefathers are pleased.[4]

The Ṛgveda describes that it is under a tree with beautiful foliage that Yama drinks with the Gods and ancestors.[5] In the Ṛgvedic Āpri Sūktas, Vanaspatis are invoked.[6] A full sūkta, occurring with a little change in both RV. and AV. is addressed to Vanaspati in order to get the upperhand of one's co-wife.[7] There are not a few sūktas in the AV. devoted to Oṣadhis or Vanaspatis. The Krishna Yajurveda Saṁhitā prescribes an animal sacrifice to plants to remove obstacles in the attainment of offsprings.[8] Oṣadhis are called

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[1] *Vedic Age,* p. 188 and pl. no. VII. 8 reproduced from Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro. Also see Marshall, *op. cit.,* I. p. 312.

[2] Mazumdar, N. G., *Explorations of Sindh,* Pl. XVII. no. 34.

[3] *Vedic Age,* op. cit.

[4] *Mahābhāṣya,* Vol. I, p. 14; also see *Mahābhārata,* anuśāsana parva, 58.

[5] *Ṛgveda,* X. 131. 1.

[6] *Ṛgveda,* I. 13. 11; I. 142. 11; I. 188. 10; II. 3. 10; III. 4. 10; V. 5. 10; VII. 2. 10; IX. 5. 10; X. 70. 10.

[7] *RV.* X. 145; *AV.* III. 18.

[8] *V.M.,* 154; *T.S.,* II. i. 5. 3.

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'mothers' and 'goddesses,' and are invoked chiefly with waters and mountains.[1]

"*Caitya-vṛkṣas* are mentioned in the Atharva-Veda Pariśiṣta LXXI, large trees are sometimes addressed as deities, they are connected with human fertility, and nymphs inhabiting them are asked to be propitious to passing wedding processions."[2]

Souls or spirits were supposed to dwell in trees, to haunt them and were looked upon as gods[3]. Offerings are made to these trees-spirits, even human sacrifices are offered. They were consulted as oracles, expected to give sons and wealth, and were pleased when garlands are hung upon the branches and lamps lighted on all sides, and 'bali'—offerings made at the foot of the trees[4]. Manu refers to 'bali'—offerings to the tree spirits.[5] Both Manu and Yājñavalkya ask a snātaka to circumambulate, on his way, sacred trees like the Aśvattha etc.

The Mahābhārata forbids even the falling of the leaves of trees that are known as Caityas. Mm. Kane here interprets Caitya as "trees like the Aśvattha that have a platform (*caitya*) built for them[6]. The Aśvattha was already a sacred tree in the Indus Valley civilization.[7]

Dr. Coomaraswamy cites a case, where, in explaining the Suciloma Sutta of Samyutta Nikāya, 11.5, a stone dias, throne or platform (*taṅkite mañco*) is stated to have been Yakkha's haunt (*bhavanam*).[8] The Mahābhārata in the passage noted above, uses the world Caitya in the sense of a

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[1] *V M.*, 154; *RV.* X. 97.4. = *YV.* XII. 78 = *TS.* iv. 2. 6. 1.—ओषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वो देवीरूप ब्रुवे।

[2] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 41.

[3] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 11. *Jātaka*, IV, p. 154.

[4] *Jātaka*, V. pp. 472, 474, 488; Jat., IV, 210, 353; III. 23, IV. 153. For the horrid and hideous practices connected with tree-worship, as evidenced from the *Jātakas*, see Mehta, Ratilal, *Pre-Buddhist India*, pp. 326 f.

[5] *Manusmṛti*, 3.88 also see Vṛddha-Gautama, Jivānanda's collection, Part 2, p. 625. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, II.2, p. 895.

[6] *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva 69.42 (चैत्यानां सर्वथा त्याज्यपि पत्रस्य पातनम्); Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II.2. p. 895. The aśvattha is already represented in the Indus Valley on a faience seal with animal heads attached to the stem. Coomaraswamy *HIIA.*, fig. 6.

[7] Dr. Coomaraswamy writes: The Bodhidruma (nyagrodha of most Buddhist texts, akṣaya vaṭa of the Epic, but pippala or aśvattha of the reliefs) was certainly a sacred tree, haunted by a Devatā, before the Bodhisattva took his seat beneath it. ..*Ibid.*, p. 47.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 47 n. 4. Also see, Odettee Viennot, *loc., cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. D.

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Caitya-tree, which has been a sacred-tree, on account of a stone dais or platform built round it, for worship of some spirits or gods, who were supposed to have been associated with such trees. As suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy, "most of the Yakkhacetiya referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature may have been sacred trees[1]. In this connection a very definite evidence is obtained from the Vasudevahiṇḍi of Saṁghadāsa gaṇi Vācaka, assignable to a period not later than the fifth century A.D., and probably dating from c. 350-450 A.D. According to this text, there was an udyāna called Manorama in Sāliggāma in the Magadha Janapada. Therein was the Jakkha Sumaṇo, whose stone-plaque or platform (*silā* = śilā) was placed there under an aśoka tree, the silā was known as Sumanā. There the people worshipped this Yakṣa.[2] A certain person, Satya by name, is further said to have spent a night in meditation in this area of the Sumanasilā, standing in the kāyotsarga pose, in order to propitiate the Yakṣa. It seems that silā is here used in the sense of a plaque or a relief deposited under the aśoka tree, on a platform (*silā-paesa* of Vasudevahiṇḍi, p. 88) where Satya could stand in meditation before the śilā of the Yakṣa.

The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya[3] is the stock description of a Caitya for all Jaina canons; here, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, is a development of a Yakṣa-Caitya, the original simple worship under a tree takes the form of some building.[4] But this Caitya was in the midst of a vanakhaṇḍa (forest-grove) in the centre of which was a big Aśoka tree round which were many other trees, all with various types of creepers (*latā*) entwined on them. The description that follows is noteworthy :—

तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स उवरिं बहवे अट्ठ अट्ठ मङ्गलगा पण्णत्ता तं जहा—सोत्थिय, सिरिवच्छ, नन्दियावत्त वद्धमाणग, भद्दासण, कलस, मच्छ, दप्पण सव्वरयणामया अच्छा सण्हा लण्हा घट्ठा मट्ठा णीरया निम्मला..अभिरूवा पडिरूवा.

तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स उवरिं बहवे किण्हचामरज्झया...अच्छा सण्हा लण्हा रुप्पपट्टा वइरामयदण्डा जालयामलगन्धिया सुरम्मा पासादिया दरिसणिज्जा अभिरूवा पडिरूवा...तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स उवरिं बहवे छत्ताइछत्ता पडागाइपडागा घण्टाजुयला चामरजुयला उप्पलजुयला उप्पलहत्थगा पउमहत्थगा कुमुयहत्थगा णलिणहत्थगा सुहगहत्थगा सोगन्धियहत्थगा सव्वरयणामया अच्छा जाव पडिरूवा[5]...

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[2] तत्थ सुमणो नाम जक्खो तस्स असोगपायवसंसिया सिला सुमणा तत्थ णं जणा पूयंति। *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 85, also see p. 88.

[3] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sūtras, 2-5.

[4] Dr. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 47.

[5] The portion is not printed in the text of the Aupapātika sūtra, sū. 4 but indicated by the use of जाव and noted by Abhayadeva in his commentary,

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The passage, noted by Abhayadeva in his commentary as an additional description from some manuscripts, shows that the tree itself was decorated with the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭa-maṅgala*) with flags and banners of different colours, (Cf. HIIA. fig. 70) bells, fly-whisks and bunches (*hatthaga*)[1] or various flowers, clearly showing that the tree itself was regarded as sacred and adorned. The next description is even more noteworthy :—

'तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स हेट्ठा ईसिं खंधसमल्लीणे एत्थ णं एगे पुढविसिलापट्टए पण्णत्ते, विक्खंभायामउस्सेहसुप्पमाणे किण्हे अंजणघणकिवाणकुवलयहलधरकोसेज्जागासकेसकज्जलंगीखंजणसिंगमेदरिट्ठयजंबुफलअसणकसणवंधणणीलुप्पलपत्तनिकरअतसिकुसुमप्पगासे मरकतमसारकल्लित्तणयणकीयरासिवण्णे णिद्धघणे अट्ठसिरे आयंसयतलोवमे सुरम्मे ईहामियउसभतुरगनरमगरविहगवालगकिण्णररुरुसरभचमरकुंजरवणलयपउमलयभत्तिचित्ते आईणगरूयबूरणवणीततूलफरिसे सीहासणसंठिए पासादीए दरिसणिज्जे अभिरूवे पडिरूवे ॥ (sūtra 5)

The commentator notes another reading (*vācanāntara*) of the *Śilāpaṭṭa-varṇaka*, rendered in Sanskrit—अञ्जनकघनकुवलयहलधरकौशेयकसदृशः, आकाशकेशकज्जलकर्केतनेन्द्रनीलातसीकुसुमप्रकाशः, भृङ्गाञ्जनशृङ्गभेदरिष्ठकनीलगुलिकागवलातिरेकभ्रमरनिकुरुम्बभूतः, जम्बूफलासनकुसुमबन्धननीलोत्पलपत्रनिकरमरकताशासकनयनकीकाराशिवर्णः स्निग्धघनः, रूपकप्रतिरूपदर्शनीयः मुक्ताजालखचितान्तकर्मा... ।[2]

Below the best Aśoka tree was a big Pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭaka, well proportioned in height, breadth and thickness slightly reclining against the stem of the tree (*īsim khandhasamallīṇe*).[3] It was black like collirium, etc. and dark-blue like Nīlotpala, and shining, eight-sided (*aṭṭha-sire*), smooth, compact, and polished or shining (reflecting) like the surface of a mirror (*āyamsatalovame*), beautiful and decorated with carvings (*bhatticitta*) or *īhāmṛga* (*vṛkah* according to Abhayadeva), bull, horse, nara-makara (*kāla-makara* motif), bird, serpents (*vālaga*), kinnaras, deer, śarabha, yak, elephant, wild creepers and lotus, creepers and was soft to the touch like garment of an animal-hide (*ājinaka*), butter, cotton etc. Placed on a simhāsana, it was beautiful to look at.

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as—इहलतावर्णकान्तरमशोकवर्णकं पुस्तकान्तरे इदमधिकमधीयते—p. 9. Also see *Rāyapaseṇaiyam* (Becaradas ed.), pp. 19-20.

[1] Hatthaga would mean mark of the palm. But here the word is used either in the sense of marks of the different flowers (stamped with some pastes) or bunches which could be carried in hands.

[2] Aupapātika sūtra (Āgamodaya Samiti ed.), pp. 10-11.

[3] Interpretation of this is important, Abhayadeva, in his comm. (p. 10) renders it as मनाक् स्कन्धासन्न. It is difficult to say whether this Pṛthvīśilāpaṭṭa was ever regarded as a platform with a part of the tree's stem embedded in it, surely this paṭṭa rested on a platform, slightly reclining against the stem of the tree, since it is said to rest on a simhāsana (*sihāsaṇasamṭhie*).

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Abhayadeva interprets sīhāsaṇasaṃṭhie as simhāsanākārao which is obviously wrong.[1] He, however, notes on the basis of another vācanā that its borders were inlaid with pearls (*muktājāla-khacitāntakarmā*).[2]

It is therefore certain that the śilāpaṭṭa was placed under a tree, reclining a little (*īsiṁ*) against its stem, and deposited on a simhāsana obviously because it was an object of worship. The carvings described above were decorative, in the centre might have been the figure of a yakṣa or any spirit or of a symbol; commentators are silent regarding the meaning of Pṛthvī-śilāpaṭṭa. What does Pṛthvī signify here? Was it a terracotta paṭṭa? or was it a stone-plaque dedicated to the Mother-goddess Fṛthvī? An easier interpretation is however possible so far as the position of the Paṭṭa is concerned. It rested on a simhāsana, not vertically but horizontally, (either slightly raised at the end near the tree, or with its one end probably thrust into the stem by scraping the latter's surface, which was possibly the meaning conveyed by *īsiṁ khandhasamalliṇa*. It gave stability to the paṭṭa placed on a dias or a simhāsana, the interpretation further obtains confirmation from the representation of Bodhi-tree shrine at Bhārhut.[3] If then, the paṭṭa, was placed horizontally, it becomes a spot for laying offerings to the spirit or the tree. Nay, it also became the pīṭha for a representation of a spirit or of a symbol as can be inferred from the relief of the Dhamma-cakka shrine, also from Bhārhut.[4]

It is in this sense that the Vasudevahiṇḍi speaks of sumana-śilā of Sumana Yakṣa under an aśoka tree. The Yakṣa figure was placed on this pīṭha or platform.[5] It is also possible to infer a stage in which the object of worship was carved in relief on the surface of the śilā itself and offerings placed on it. Surely the Pṛthvī-Śilāpaṭṭa is the precursor of the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas obtained from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, most of which are now assigned to the first century B.C.

Originally possibly a Caitya-tree or a sacred tree, was simply enclosed in a railing as can be seen from representations on a Jaina Āyāgapaṭa from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura[6] (fig. 11) and from such representations at Bhārhut and

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[1] *Aupapātika*, (Āgamodaya Samiti ed.), sūtra 5, comm. on pp. 10-11.

[2] Especially see, Barua, B. M., *Book of Bhārhut*, Vol. III. Fig. 32.

[3] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, Figs. 41, 46 and 51. Also, Barua, *Book of Bhārhut*, III. Figs. 26, 28, 30, 31.

[4] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, fig. 41.

[5] The practice of collecting stones and symbols of divinity is an ancient custom, many of the village gods and goddesses are upto this date placed under trees which shall in the worship paid to the godlings underneath. See the *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 474.

[6] See the section on Āyāgapaṭas. Also see, *Le culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, par Odette Viennot (Paris, 1954), pl. XII. figs. B,C. I have

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Sāñcī. The simple practice observed also on Harappā sealings, continued even after the beginning of the Christian era, but at some early period, a stage was also evolved in which, below the trees these platforms and objects of worship were placed. This stage came in much earlier than the age of Bhārhut and must have existed even before that of Mahāvīra who stayed in the yakṣāyatana described above. Fig. 67 is an interesting relief, of Śuṅga age, from Mathura, showing a huge Śiva-liṅga under a tree, both enclosed in a railing.

The description of the Aśoka tree in the Aupapātika is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, because we get here a stage in Yakṣa-worship to which the Caitya-vṛkṣas are intimately allied. Here possibly the tree itself with the Śilā-paṭṭa under it is the Yakṣāyatana as in the case of Suciloma Jātaka (Saṁyutta Nikāya, 11-5) where a *taṅkite maṅco* is stated to be the Yakkha's haunt (*bhavanam*) In that case the Aśoka tree itself, the Caitya-vṛkṣa, is the Caitya of Pūrṇabhadra in our passage. It seems that the carving of, a figure (of the yakṣa) on the Śilā-paṭṭa or of installing a sculpture of the deity was a later stage,[1] but it must be remembered that even this stage might have existed in the age of Mahāvīra if the shrine of Moggarapāṇi yakṣa at Rājagṛha referred to in the Jaina Canon, can be regarded as dating from the age of Mahāvīra. Since the Pūrṇabhadra shrine was already *cirātīta* in the age of Mahāvīra, the interpretation offered above is not incompatible.

The second noteworthy fact about this passage is its description of the Śilā-paṭṭa, a critical study of which supports the views stated above. This is possibly the first known literary evidence of what is well known as the Mauryan Polish if the Śilā-paṭṭa is regarded as a stone-plaque, and of the N. B. P. ware if the Pṛthvī-Śilā-Paṭṭa is regarded as a terracotta-plaque (Pṛthvī-clay, and Śilā-Paṭṭa being a *rūḍha* word for such votive slabs). I am not inclined to take it as a stone-plaque dedicated to the Mother-Goddess Pṛthvī for the simple reason that the passage must refer to the worship of the yakṣa Pûrṇabhadra rather than to that of the Mother-goddess. The plaque was highly polished, shining like a mirror and the surface was soft to touch like cotton or butter. It was besides painted and inlaid with pearls.

It is now well known that the so called Northern Block Polished Ware is obtained in different colours and not only in black. Our text seems to speak of at least three colours, black, bluish and green for though the paṭṭa is called kṛṣṇa, the upamas given include those of the nīlotpala and the marakata

not utilised the evidence of this work in these lectures delivered before the work could be available. But the work is an important contribution on the Cult of the Tree in ancient India.

[1] cf. Odette Viennot, *Le Culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, pl. VIII Fig. D, from Amarāvatī Stūpa.

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stone. The final editors of the text in the fifth century A.D. could not fully understand the older text as by that time the original specimens were lost and the editors were possibly confused. The plaque had either paintings or reliefs of animals, creepers etc. That it was a polished plaque, shining and reflecting like a mirror, is further suggested by the *vācanāntara* which calls it *rūpaka-pratirūpa-darśanīya.*

Recent excavations at Kuśāmbī and Vaiśālī has shown that this beautiful polished ware was, available in different colours and sometimes painted also. The centre of this technique, or place of its origin is not known, but it seems that it was Magadha. Excavations at Kauśāmbī have shown the existence of this polished ware in pre-Mauryan layers, just below the foundations of the Ghoṣitārāma, and hence we have little hesitation in holding that the Jaina *varṇaka* of the Pṛthvī Śilāpaṭṭa and the Purṇabhadra Ceitya is based upon genuine ancient traditions referring to an age antedating Mahāvīra. The description of the Aśoka tree is based on a very early tradition having its analogy in the reliefs at Bhārhut. A still lower circular or square open platform all round the tree, should have existed, for the worshippers to stand on, or sit in meditation or circumambulate round the tree as is suggested by fig. 32 of Barua's Bharhut Vol. III.

Another stage in the worship of a Caitya tree can be easily imagined in the erection of a pīṭha with śilāpaṭṭa[1] on each of the four sides of a tree. This served as the fundamental conception of the early Caitya, open on four sides; Caturmukha shrine. This inference is confirmed by the elaborate account of Caitya-vrkṣas in the Samavasaraṇa of Ādinātha described by Jinasena in his Ādipurāṇa. They are called Caitya-vṛkṣas, because at their roots are placed on four sides, four images (caityas) of the Jinas.[2]

The Caitya-trees of the Bhavanavāsi gods are described in a similar way

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[1] Cf. *Le culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne,* Pl. XII. figs. A, E, F, Pl. XIII, figs. A, B, C, D, Pl. XIV, fig. A.

[2] *Ādipurāṇa,* 22. 184-204, Vol. I, pp. 524-27 :—

ध्वजांशुकपरामृष्टानिर्मेघघनपद्धतिः ॥ १९३ ॥
××मूर्धा छत्रत्रयं बिभ्रन्मुक्तालम्बनभूषितम् ।
विभोस्त्रिभुवनैश्वर्यं विना वाचेव दर्शयन् ॥ १९४ ॥
मेजिरे वुध्नभागेऽस्य प्रतिमा दिक्चतुष्टये ।
जिनेश्वराणामिन्द्राद्यैः समवाप्ताभिषेचनाः ॥ १९५ ॥
×× चैत्याधिष्ठितवुध्नत्वाद्दूढतन्नामरूढयः ।
शाखिनोऽमी विभान्ति स्म सुरेन्द्रैः प्राप्तपूजनाः ॥ २०१ ॥

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by the Tiloyapaṇṇatti.[1] It confirms the belief that at some stage elaborate lower platforms were erected all round the tree, a practice which is seen even to-day in Indian towns and villages.

Before proceeding to the examination of Jaina lists of Caitya-vṛkṣas and the conception behind them, it must be remembered that this tree-worship, popular in ancient times, noticed in the Vedas, formed an important part of the religious beliefs and practices of the masses with whom the Buddha or the Jina was mainly concerned in his opposition to the Vedic priestly class and its rituals. The spirits dwelling in the trees were Nāgas, Yakṣas or Gandharvas etc.,[2] easily approachable without the help of complex sacrificial details. It is such Caityas, with udyānas having Caitya-trees in them, that Mahāvīra is generally reported to have stayed in during his wanderings, before and after becoming a Tīrthaṅkara, obviously because firstly the area was accessible to all types of people and ascetics, secondly because it was the best place for propagation of one's school of thought. People used to sit in worship under such trees[3] and in such moments Buddha and Mahāvīra obtained Enlightenment. Rhys Davids notes, "while in all the oldest accounts of Gotama's attainment of Buddha-hood there is no mention of the tree under which he was sitting at the time, yet already in a Suttanta it is incidentally mentioned that this event took place under a Pippala tree." This practice of meditating under trees, is what Buddha seems to have appealed to, as suggested by Rhy Davids, when at the end of some earnest dialogue he used to close it with an appeal: "Here are the trees: Think this matter out."[4] Thus the belief that Buddha obtained enlightenment under a Pippala tree, or that Mahāvīra obtained it under a Śāla tree may be based on facts, and when lists of other Buddhas or

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[1] cf.—छद्दोभूमुहरुंदा चउजोयणउच्छिदाणि पीढाणि ।
पीढोवरिबहुमज्झे रम्मा चेट्ठन्ति चेत्तदुमा ॥ ३३ ॥
××छत्तादिछत्तजुत्ता घंटाजालादिरमणिज्जा ॥ ३६ ॥
आदिणिहणेण हीणा पुढविमया सव्वभवणचेत्तदुमा ।
जीवुप्पत्तिलयाणं होंति निमित्ताणि ते णियमा ॥ ३७ ॥
चेत्ततरूणं मूले पत्तेक्कं चउदिसासु पंचेव ।
चेट्ठंति जिणप्पडिमा पलियंकठिया सुरेहिं महणिज्जा ॥ ३८ ॥
चउतोरणाभिरामा अट्ठमहामंगलेहि सोहिल्ला ।
वररयणणिम्मिदेहिं माणत्थम्मेहि अइरम्मा ॥ ३९ ॥
—*Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 3. 33-39, Vol. I, p. 115.

[2] See also, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 232.

[3] Cf. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 3.2, sū. 144 which describes Mahāvīra as meditating under a tree on a Pṛthviśilāpaṭṭa.

[4] *Buddhist India*, pp. 230-31.

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Tīrthaṅkaras grew, their Caitya-trees were also recorded by both the sects.

But since the Buddha was not represented in human form in early Buddhist worship, the Bodhi-tree attained greater importance in Buddhist art, while the Jainas were more or less satisfied only with recording of the list of Caitya-trees of different Jinas and by giving them only secondary importance in art. The Caitya-tree, possibly on account of its age-long existence as an object of worship, had to be introduced on a relief sculpture of a Jina, by showing its foliage above his head. The introduction of the Caitya-tree was especially due to the possible appeal it made to the masses with whom worship of trees was so popular. The Jainas as well as the Buddhists gave a new meaning to the Tree-Worship. They were the trees under which their leaders obtained Enlightenment,[1] and were worshipped or represented on this account, and not because particular spirits or godlings were associated with them. It helped them to override the Tree-cult and along with it the cults of Nāgas, Yakṣas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas and others. The Jina-image was placed under a tree and worshipped. With the growth of shrines, the practice died out amongst the Jainas. That the Caitya tree was given importance due to Tree-cult of the masses is best illustrated from a type of Tīrthaṅkara images from the South where the Jina sits under a big tree, his figure seated on a pīṭha and almost all other prātihāryas either eliminated or very much subdued (cf. fig. 72 from Kalugumalai Tinnevelley district. Also cf. fig. 73 from Pañcāsara temple, Patan, N. Gujarat and fig. 75 from a Jaina shrine, Surat).

Viewed in this light, the cosmographical accounts of both the Jaina sects, describing Caitya vṛkṣas in the palaces of different gods, would be regarded as reminiscent of the earlier forms of Jaina worship. It may incidentally be noted that these gods, Saudharmendra and others are similarly reported to be worshipping the bones of the Jinas, placed in dimond-boxes on high positions. This fact also is a record of the earlier stage of Jaina worship,

The earliest reference to the Caitya tree of Mahāvīra is perhaps the account of Mahāvīra's life in the Ācārāṅga sūtra, book II[2] which is regarded as later in age than the book I. The Kalpa sūtra which speaks of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, but gives details of lives of only four—Ṛṣabha, Mahāvīra, Pārśva and Nemi—and only mentions the age of others, does not note the Caitya trees of these remaining twenty Jinas. The Samavāyāṅga sūtra which, though it incorporates much earlier material, is a later compilation, it gives lists

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[1] cf.: त्रये जिना घातिचतुष्टयस्य सत्केवलज्ञानमवाप्नुवन्ति ।
अधस्तरोर्यस्य स चैत्यवृक्षनाम्ना प्रसिद्धो जिनशासनेऽत्र ॥
An old verse, quoted by Caturvijaya in *Ekaviṁśatisthānaka-prakaraṇa*, comm. pp. 28 ff.

[2] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, SBE, Vol. XXII p. 201.

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of Tīrthaṅkaras of Past, Present and Future, as also of Tīrthaṅkaras of Airavata kṣetra, and also records a list of Caitya-trees of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of this age in the Bharata kṣetra.[1] The list being common to both the Jaina sects was evolved at least before the Digambara-Śvetāmbara partition regarding acknowledgement of canons and whatever difference is visible in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti list is only due to some early error of scribes.[2] A list of Caitya-trees of the various Jinas is appended at the end of this discussion. With the evolution of lāñchanas or recognising symbols for the Tīrthaṅkaras, Caitya-trees have lost much of their value in identifying sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras. Jain Purāṇas generally give identical lists for the trees under which these Jinas took their *dīkṣās*.

It seems that the Jainas have assigned the spirits connected with this ancient tree-worship to the class of Vyantara gods. The Vyantaras are subdivided into eight groups—Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Mahoragas (Nāgas) and Gandharvas. Each group has on its crest the symbol of a tree in the following order:—Kadamba, Sulasa, Vaṭa, Khaṭvāṅga, Aśoka, Campaka, Nāga and the Tumburu tree, according to the Śvetāmbara traditions. The Digambara lists replace the Khaṭvāṅga (of Rākṣasas) for the Badarī tree[3]. Khaṭvāṅga alone in the Śve. list is not a tree, and it seems that the Digambaras were more faithful in recording this tradition or possibly, the Rāksasas were originally not tree spirits.

The Sthānāṅga[4] gives the Caitya-tree worshipped by each of the ten classes of Bhavanvāsi gods; a different list is supplied by the Tiloyapaṇṇatti[5]. This only signifies the association of Caitya-tree or tree-cult with the area of Jaina shrines.

Ambikā Yakṣī, the first Śāsanadevatā introduced in Jaina worship, sits under a mango-tree which is reminiscent of the early association of Yakṣa-worship with the tree-cult. Sometimes older ideas wonderfully persist or are revived even at a very late age, and it may be said that even the most ancient superstitions or cults do not totally die away. In the mediaeval period, in

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[1] *Samvāyāṅga sūtra*, sa, 159, p. 152; also *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū. 127, p. 225 and sū. 142, p. 251 for Caitya trees.

[2] Ramacandran's table is unfortunately incorrect. Ramacandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff. For Digambara lists, see *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, 4.106, p. 101, *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4-916-918, Vol. I, p. 264.

[3] For lists of both traditions with sources, see Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 273ff.

[4] *Sthānāṅga sūtra*, 10.3. sūtra 766, Vol. II. p. 487. The commentator says that these were worshipped near the Siddhāyatanas.

[5] *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 3.136, Vol. I, p. 128.

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Eastern India, we have a few reliefs of Ganeśa standing or dancing under the spread arch of a mango-tree[1]. Ganeśa's original connections with Yakṣa worship are well-known and this is reminiscent of it. All attempts to obtain literary evidence for this association of Ganeśa with mango tree have so far failed.

Along with the conception of Caitya-trees may be noted the conceptions of Tree of Life and the Wish-Fulfilling Trees (*Kalpa-druma*) in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts.[2] The Jaina texts also speak of ten *Kalpa-drumas*. These are described in details in the Jambudvīpaprajñapti.[3] Hemacandra in his Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-Caritra (I. 1. vv. 226-37) describes the ten kinds of Kalpa trees in the Uttarakurus as follows:—"The ten kinds of wishing trees, Madyaṅgas, etc, always give to the people whatever they desire without effort on their part. Among these, the *Madyaṅgas* give wine, the *Bhṛṅgas* dishes, the *Tūryaṅgas* choice musical instruments.....The *Dīpaśikhās* and *Jyotiṣkas* give a wonderful light, the *Citrāṅgas* furnish wreaths, and the *Citrarasas* in turn food. *Maṇyaṅgas* furnish ornaments, the *Gehākāras* houses, and the *Anaṅgas* various kinds of divine apparel."[4]

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[1] For illustrations see, Banerji, R. D., *Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, and *History of Bengal*, Vol. I.

[2] Esp. see, Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*.

[3] *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 20. p. 99 ff. See also *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, 1067-70, p. 314, *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, Vol. I, pp. 146-147.

[4] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Vol. I (G.O. Series), transl. by H. Johnson, pp. 29-30.

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Caitya-Trees.

No.	Tīrthaṅkara	Śvetāmbara	Digambara
1	Ṛṣabhanātha	Nyagrodha	same
2	Ajitanātha	Saptaparṇa	,,
3	Sambhavanātha	Śāla (Shorea Robusta)	,,
4	Abhinandana	Piyaka or Priyaka	Sarala
5	Sumatinātha	Priyaṅgu (Panicum italicum)	same
6	Padmaprabha	Chaturābha (Anethum sowa)	Priyaṅgu
7	Supārśvanatha	Śirīṣa (Acacin sirisha)	same
8	Candraprabha	Nāga	same
9	Puṣpadanta (Suvidhi)	Mali	Akṣa
10	Śītalanātha	Pilaṅkhu	Dhūli
11	Śreyāṁsanātha	Tiṇḍuga	Palāśa
12	Vāsupujya	Pāṭala (Bignomia suaveolens)	Tenduva
13	Vimalanātha	Jambū (Engenia jambolana)	Pāṭala-Jambū
14	Anantanātha	Aśvattha	Same
15	Dharmanātha	Dadhiparṇa	,,
16	Śāntinātha	Nandi (Cedrela toong)	,,
17	Kunthunātha	Tilaka	,,
18	Aranātha	Āmra-	,,
19	Mallinātha	Aśoka	,,
20	Munisuvrata	Campaka (Michelia Champaka)	,,
21	Naminātha	Bakula (Mimusops elengi)	,,
22	Neminātha	Vetasa	Meṣaśṛṅga
23	Pārśvanātha	Dhātaki (Grislea to tomentosa)	Dhava
24	Mahāvīra	Śāla.	Same

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4. ĀYĀGAPAṬAS

Āyāgapaṭas or Tablets of Homage, mainly obtained from different sites at Mathurā offer an interesting study. Most of these Āyāgapaṭas are assignable to the later phase of the Śuṅga art and some of them belong to the period of transition to the Kuṣāṇa art. The significance and use of these tablets of homage is discussed along with Caitya trees. Here a short account of each of them will be given.

Tablet I.—Gift of an inhabitant of Mathurā. (Fig. 14)

The Āyāgapaṭa (No. J. 248, Lucknow Museum, size 2′-10″ sq.), set by an inhabitant of Mathurā[1] according to the partly preserved inscription at its lower rim, though partly mutilated from the right corner, is a beautiful specimen of art assignable to c. 100-50 B.C., obtained from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. It shows in the centre, a sixteen-spoked wheel enclosed in another circle with band of *tilaka-ratnas* inside. This circle is followed by a bigger circle made up of eight ladies represented like flying-gandharvas, and carrying flowers. The broad band or rim of this big circle is made up of a twisted rope interspersed with rosettes. This Wheel is supported by Suparṇa dwarfs, half human, represented in the four corners of the square which encloses the Big Wheel. The four sides of this square have broad borders or panels, with svastika on the left upper and right lower corners, and another composite symbol made of four *tilakaratnas*, with the circular base common to each. The fourth end of the paṭa is lost. Below, on the lower border is an inverted *tilakaratna* in the centre having on two sides half human mythical flying animals, one male and the other female. A corresponding panel existed on each side with similar animals; in the centre of the panel on the left end is seen the Śrīvatsa symbol.

Certainly the Wheel cannot represent the Jaina Conception of Time with six *ārās* of Utsarpiṇī and six more of the Avasarpiṇī, since our wheel has sixteen spokes. The only alternative left is to regard it as the *Dharmacakra*, or Wheel of Law.

Tablet II. Set up by the Wife of Śivaghoṣaka. (Fig. 12)

This tablet is badly defaced on the right lower and upper ends, but the carving is easily understood. In the middle of this square tablet (J. 253

[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, Pl. VIII, p. 15; Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 4; Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* II, pp. 200, 313. *Namo Arahato Mahāvirasa Māthuraka Lavaḍasa (sa) bhāyāye va.....taye* (*āyāgapaṭo*).

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Lucknow Museum; size 3′ – 1″ × 2′ – 10″ from Mathurā)[1] is a big circle having four tilaka-ratnas facing each of the four sides and arranged in a composite way, with the lower circle, common to each of them. This lower half of the tilaka-ratna being a circle, is utilised for the representation of a Jina in the centre, with a naked monk (a gaṇadhara) standing on each side. The Jina sits on a raised dias, probably in the arddha-padmāsana, and in dhyāna mudrā. He is protected by a seven-headed cobra over his head, above the snake-hoods is an umbrella with tassels of garlands issuing out of it. The Jina probably represents Pārśvanātha attended by two naked gaṇadharas. The padma-latā in the broad band of the bigger circle and the wine-creeper on the right lower end of the square-tablet may be noted. The right lower corner of the tablet shows a symbol (mahāpuṇḍarīka?), the left lower shows a lion sitting on his legs, the left upper shows an elephant and the right upper corner shows two winged mythical lions. The characters of the inscription on the lower border of the paṭa, partly peeled off, are engraved, according to Smith, in "an archaic type prior to the Kuṣāṇa era." Set up by one Śivaghoṣaka, the tablet should be regarded as a specimen of the Śuṅga art, assignable to the first half of the first century B.C.

Tablet III, of Ārayavatī set up by Āmohini (Fig. 14 A)

This fine votive tablet, set up by Āmohini in the year 42 or 72 of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, is, as Smith has shown, "essentially an Ayāgapaṭa, though not so called," but expressly said to have been meant "for the worship of the Arhata" (Arahatapūjāye) like the other Āyagāpaṭas. The inscription[2] on the top of the sculpture begins with an adoration to

[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, Pl. X, p. 17; *Ep. Ind.*, II. No 31. The inscription is read as *Namo Arahantana Śivagho (saka) sa bhāri (ya)—na—*.

[2] Smith, *Jaina Stupa* pl. XIV. p. 21; Agrawal, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 14, fig. 1. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl. 74; Ep. Ind. II., p 199.

Year 42nd of Śodāsa would, according to the chronology adopted in the Age of Imperial Unity, be 27 A. D., which would not suit the style. Luders reads 72 instead of 42, cf. Ep. Ind. II. No. 2. Rapson, *The Date of Āmohini Votive Tablet of Mathurā*, Indian Studies in honour of Charcles Lannman, pp. 49-52, reads 42.

J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, "*The Scythian Period*," pp. 65-72, has discussed again the characters for 70 and 40 and shown that the tablet gives a date 72. According to her theory, which appears to be a plausible one, it is dated in the old Śaka era of 129 B. C., which would give a date, 57 B. C. for this Tablet. She however offers a different explanation of Āryavati-Āyapaṭa-Āyāgapaṭa, *ibid*, p. 147, which explanation, however, is not acceptable to us. It must be remembered that the *āyavati* occurs in l. 3 and *āryavati* in l. 4,

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Vardhamāna. The Āyavatī or (Āryavatī or Āryāvatī) set up by Āmohini, naturally refers to the Royal lady represented standing in bold relief in the centre (of the tablet), dressed elegantly and standing with the right hand held as if in the abhaya pose and with left one akimbo. A male attendant to her right holds an umbrella over her head. A female attendant with a garland stands on the right near the much defaced pillar. Between the Āryavatī and the umbrella bearer is a small figure of a boy (or a girl) with folded hands. On the left of the lady is a female waving the flywhisk. Obviously, the figure represents a royal lady, (not a nun) and one who deserved adoration and worship. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that she is the mother of a Jina, probably of Vardhamāna, invoked in ths beginning of the inscription. The garlands hanging in the background remind one of such hanging from the Kalpa trees in the Bhārhut railings.

Tablet IV. Set up by Śivayaśas. (Fig. 7)

This is an interesting tablet, which, though mutilated gives a partial view of the Jaina Stūpa with the toraṇa gateway and railing round the circumambulatory passnge, reached by a flight of steps.[1] The characters of the inscription below the railing are, according to Smith, "little more archaic than those of Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the gateway of the Bhārhut stūpa, dated in the reign of the Śuṅgas, or about 150 B. C." They seem to de somewhat later, and Buhler, admitting that they are 'archaic' adds that they "belong to the period before Kaṇiṣka." The tablet may be roughly assigned to the early first century B. C.

Tablet V. Set up by Sīhanādika. (Fig. 13)

A Jina sits in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, with a chhatra above head, in the central circle of the four composite tilaka-ratnas (same as tri-ratnas of Buddhist terminology). The upper-most panel of the tablet shows, in the central section, a pair of fish, a heavenly car, a Śrīvatsa mark and a powder-box. In the corresponding part of the panel at the lower end are shown, a tilakaratna, a full blown lotus, a symbol which Dr. Agrawal recognises as Indrayaṣti or Vaijayantī and a maṅgala-kalaśa (auspicious vase). These eight symbols are the oldest known representations of the aṣṭamaṅgalas of Jaina traditions.[2]

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which shows that this āyavati (āyāgapaṭa) was installed and that it was a Tablet of (representing) Āryavatī.

[1] The Stūpa is discussed separately under the section of Stūpa-worship. Also see, Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XII, pp. 3 and 19; Buhler, *Ep. Ind.* IV. p. 196.

[2] Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 2, fig. 5. and his हर्षचरित, p. 120. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. VII, p. 14.

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This Āyagapaṭa (J. 249, Lucknow Museum, size $2' \times 1' - 11\frac{3}{4}$) is assignable to a period not later than 1 A. D., and is noteworthy for the typical pillars in the Persian-Achemenian style surmounted by the Dharma-cakra and the elephant capitals.

Tablet VI. Set up by Śivamitrā.

This tablet is noteworthy for its inscription which shows that it was set up by Śivamitrā of Kauśika family, wife of Gotiputra (Gautamīputra), a black serpent to the Poṭhayas and Śakas. According to Smith, the inscription is incised in "archaic characters, apparently anterior to the Kuṣāṇa period."[1]

The tablet is recovered in only a fragment which shows the leg of the crossed-stand of the type of object shown in the row of auspicious objects on the tablet of Sīhanādika discussed above. The object looks like a representation of sthāpanācārya, or sthāpanā, and is identified as Indrayaṣṭi or Vaijayanti by Dr. Agrawal. It also had a pair of fishes of which one is still visible.

This further confirms the inference drawn here that the āyāgapaṭas generally represented one or more of the Jaina (eight) auspicious object or symbols.

The tablet is very important in another way. According to the Pañca-Kalpa-Bhāṣya and Pañca-Kalpa-Cūrṇi (both in mss.), a Sātavāhana king asked a question to the famous Kālakācārya (well versed in Nimittaśāstra) about Mathurā. He asked when Mathurā will fall or whether it will fall or not. This tablet speaks of a Gautamīputra defeating Śakas and Pothayas. Was he the Sātavāhana who put the question ?[2]—especially when we find his queen setting up a tablet at Mathurā and describing Gotiputra as a "Black Serpent to the Śakas etc."

Tablet VII. Set up by Lonaśobhikā. (Fig. 14B)

This tablet of homage Q. 2, Mathurā Museum, ($2' - 4'' \times 1' - 9\frac{3}{4}''$) is especially noteworthy as it is carved with a complete Stūpa, reached by a flight of steps, and flanked by two pillars in the Persepolitan style.[3] According

[1] Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII. p. 20; *Ep. Ind.*, I. op. cit., inscr. no. 33. The Pothayas, mentioned along with the Śakas, is interesting. Probably it is a corrupt prakrit for the Parthians.

[2] And was he the Vikrama who defeated the Śakas and started the era of 57 B.C.?

[3] Agrawala, *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*, *JUPHS.*, Vol. XXIII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 69 ff. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. CIII. p. 61; Smith, *History of Fine Art*, (2nd ed.), p. 40, pl. 15 B; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pl. 19, p. 72, Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 93, pl. V b; Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 58, Vol. II. pl. 91.

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to the new reading [1] of Dr. Agrawal it was set up by Vasu, the daughter of a courtesan Loṇaśobhikā, who also erected a shrine of the Arhats, a hall of homage (āyāgasabhā), a cistern, (and) a stone-slab (*Śilāpaṭo*) at the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha Arhats." The inscription now throws new light in as much as the slab is called a "*Śilā-paṭo*". Śilāpaṭa is also mentioned in the stock-description of a caitya obtained in the Aupapātika-sūtra. One would naturally be tempted to identify the 'Śilā-paṭa' of the Jaina texts with the Āyāga-paṭa of some of the inscriptions. All such paṭas are dedicated with a common expression "Arhata-pūjaye" (Dr. Agrawala's translation of "arhata-pūjaye" as "in honour of the Arhats" is better than of the older ones) and the tablet under discussion, set up by Vasu, though called a "Śilā-paṭa" is obviously also an āyāgapaṭa. The paṭa is assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period both from the evidence of the script and from the art of the carvings.[2]

Tablet VIII. Set up by an unknown donor. (Fig. 11)

The tablet[3] is noteworthy for the following reason: Tablet I is meant for the worship of the Dharma-cakra; Tablet II for that of the tri-ratna (jñāna-darśana-cāritra, the fundamentals of the Jaina religious practice, or the teaching of the Jina shown in the centre), Tablets VII and IV are for the worship of the Stūpa. This Tablet (J. 250 Lucknow Museum, size 3′ × 2′-8″) is possibly for the worship of the eight auspicious symbols, suggested by a big ornamental svastika, enclosed in a big circle, and with a small svastika, a Śrīvatsa, a pair of fish, and a bhadrāsana (or Indrayaṣṭi?) shown in its four arms. In the centre of the big svastika, is another circle, a miniature of the main circle of Tablet II, showing the Jina and the tri-ratnas. The circle round the big svastika shows male and female worshippers of the figures of a Jina, a Caitya-tree enclosed in a square railing, a stūpa and another object (badly damaged) represented on four sides in the rim of the circle.[4] The pedestal of

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[1] The inscription, as read by Dr. Agrawala, *JUPHS.*, XXIII. pp. 69-70, is:—

1 Namo Ārahato Vardhamānasa Ārāye gaṇikā—
2 ye Loṇaśobhikāye dhitu śamaṇasāvikāye
3 Nādāye gaṇikāye Vasu (ye) Ārahāto devik(u)la
4 āyāga-sabhā prapā Śil (ā) paṭo patisthāpito Nigathā—
5 nām Arahatāyatane sa(hā)m(ā)lare bhaginiye dkilars putreṇa
6 sarvena ca parijanena Arahata pūjāye

[2] Smith and Codrington, *History of Fine Art*, p. 40. It is more likely that this paṭa dates from a period between 1 and 78 A.D.

[3] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. IX. p. 16. The inscription on this tablet is highly defaced. Also see *Ep. Ind.* II. pl. I b, pp. 311-313.

[4] Of all the Ayāgapaṭas this is the most important one as it represents in one plaque all the fundamentals of Jaina worship of this age. Its latest date would be c. 1 A.D.

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the paṭa shows in the centre a highly defaced inscription and partly defaced eight auspicious symbols, out of which the water-jar, the lotus, the tri-ratna the śrīvatsa, and the svastika can be recognised easily.

Tablet IX. Set up by the wife of Bhadranandi. (Fig. 10)

This tablet (J. 252, Lucknow Museum, Size 2'-7" × 2'-3½") set up by Acalā (according to Bühler; Agota, according to Smith)[1] may be compared with Tablet No. II set up by Śivaghoṣaka discussed above. The theme of a central Jina, in the circle of the composite four tri-ratnas is common to both. The panel at the bottom showed all the eight auspicious symbols (the one on the right end being partly mutilated). The pillar on each end of the Tablets is noteworthy. The inscription[2] is carved in characters of the Kuṣāṇa period.

A few more fragments of such Āyāgapaṭas are preserved in the Curzon Museum, Mathurā, one of which (No. 1603 of the Museum) shows a Stūpa in the central medallion. Another fragment (No. 2313), with an inscription on the reverse reading *Śilāpaṭo Arahata-pu.....*, shows, on the observe, Aśoka-foliage which suggests that this was meant for the worship of the Caitya tree.[3] The expression "Śilāpaṭo" used for the Tablet (āyāgapaṭa) is noteworthy.

The above analysis has helped us to find out a chief characteristic of the worship of the Āyāgapaṭas. Just as each icon represents a particular deity, (*e. g.* one or the other of the twenty-four Jinas), each Āyāgapaṭa, too, represents one particular object venerated by the Jainas, namely, the stūpa, the dharma-cakra, the tri-ratna, the aṣṭamaṅgalas[4] (one would also expect a Tablet

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[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XI, p. 18, Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, no. 32 p. 207. Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum.*

[2] The inscription reads:—

1 *Namo Arahantānam (mala).....ṇasa dhitu*
Bhadrayaśasa vadhuye Bhadranadisa bhayāye
2 *A(calā)ye ā(yā)gapaṭo pratilhāpito Arahatapujāye.*

[3] Agrawala, *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*, JUPHS. XXIII, p. 71, Fragments Nos. 569, 1603, 2313, 2563.

Another new fragment (No. 3496) is described by K. D. Bajpai, JUPHS., XXI, (1948) pls. 1-2, pp. 117 ff. Fig. 1. For an Āyāgapaṭa from Kosam, discussed by Banerji, R. D, *A.S.I.*, see, *A.R.*, 1913-14, pp. 262 ff.; pl. LXX.

[4] In my paper on *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa* Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts, Vol. IX (1941), I suggested that Balipaṭṭas referred to by Hemacandra correspond to the earlier Āyāgapaṭas. Hemacandra, describing a Samavasaraṇa writes: "The arches were adorned with flags and white umbrellas *and eight auspicious symbols below, looked like those on offering slabs* (Bali-paṭṭas)." Triṣaṣṭi, I. 3.42239.

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with a big *Maṅgala-Kalaśa*, like Tablet VIII showing the *Svastika*), the Caitya-Vṛkṣa, as also the Mother of the Jina, and the Jina himself. This worship of Śilāpaṭas was extended to monks of repute as can be seen from a Tablet representing a monk Kaṇha Samaṇa, illustrated by Smith, Jaina Stūpa, Pl. XVII. no. 2[1].

According to the Aupapātika[2], Śilā-paṭas are placed on a siṁhāsana, under the shade of the Aśoka-tree in the garden (vana-khaṇḍa) of a Caitya. They are beautiful in appearance with representations of wolves, bulls, horses, nara-makaras (half-human crocodiles), birds, kinnaras, rurus and of creepers like the vanalatā, padma-latā etc. They are (sometimes) of an octagonal shape. Abhayadeva Sūri, the commentator, notes a Sanskrit-version of another reading of this text, in which it is said that the paṭṭa is beautiful to look at on account of its rūpaka (images, designs, relief- representations) and prati-rūpaka (?) and shining with an ornamental net-work of pearls attached on all sides.[3] With the help of Dr. Agrawala's reading of the inscription on the Tablet set up by Vasu, if the Āyāgapaṭa is identified with a Śilāpaṭa, then, we must accept—and it appears more probable—that these Tablets of Homage were probably not meant for the interior of a shrine (*i.e.* the sanctum) but were assigned a special position under a Caitya-tree as is suggested by reliefs from Bhārhut. Worship of Trees being very old, it is but natural to suppose that worship of some sort of Tablets—representations, clay models etc., under Caitya-trees was an ancient practice which, when adopted by the Jainas, took the form of worship of the beautiful Āyāgapaṭas. That these Ayāgapaṭas are the Śilāpaṭas of Jaina canons is further confirmed by the fragment of a Tablet No. 2313 in the Mathurā Mussum.

It is interesting to note that Inscr. No. 18 of Bühler, *New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā, Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 390, speaks of a Śilā-paṭṭa installed in a spot sacred to the Dadhikarṇa-Nāga, which shows that the practice of installing such Śilāpaṭṭas was not confined to the Jainas alone, and had its origin in the ancient Yaksha-Nāga Cult. The "Aryaka" or 'Ayaka' paṭas from the Buddhist sites of Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikoṇḍa can now be regarded as derived (like the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas) from the ancient Śilāpaṭas.

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[1] Also see, Jaina *Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. VIII. No. 2. pp. 64-65 paper on Arddha-phālaka-sampradāya by Śrī K. P. Jaina. This Tablet is dated in the year 95, *Ep. Ind.* I, no. 22.

[2] See *Aupapātika sūtra*, sūtra 5, quoted above on p. 81.

[3] *Aupapātika sūtra*, pp. 10-11, see the description of Śilāpaṭṭa cited in the discussion on Caitya-vṛkṣas. The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya and the Śilāpaṭṭa with the high polish is genuine and old and refers at least to the age of Mahāvīra. cf. Shah, U.P., *So-called Mauryan Polish in Jaina Literature*, Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda, June 1955.

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It may also be noted that the Tablet No. VII (Q. 2 of Mathurā Museum) installed by Vasu, also speaks of an āyāgasabhā. The exact meaning of this āyāga-sabhā in Jaina shrines cannot be made out but it may be inferred that it corresponds to the later Pauṣadhaśālās where a person enters upon a fast of three or more meals, and sits in meditation in order to practise certain *tapa* or propitiate a deity. The Āyāgapaṭas, evolved from the earlier conception of Śilāpaṭas, may also have been worshipped in such an āyāga-sabhā (or Pauṣadhaśālā) in place of a Sthāpanā used to-day. This does not contradict the interpretation that they were placed as Śilāpaṭṭas under the Caitya-trees. For, in the same inscription (on the tablet of Vasu), the tablet is called a Śilāpaṭṭa.

Our analysis has further shown that the history of Jaina finds at Mathurā dates from at least the Second Century B. C., and does not merely begin with the Kuṣāṇa age.[1] It has also shown that cultural evidence in the Jaina canons requires a fresh critical study.

[1] Cf.:—Bühler, *Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā* (New series); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

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5. SAMAVASARAṆA

Samavasaraṇa[1] literally means assemblage and refers to the Preaching Hall of a Jina, constructed by gods, where gods, men and animals assemble and take their apportioned seats to hear the sermon which a Tīrthaṅkara delivers immediately after enlightenment.[2] The belief is common to both the sects, the Śvetāmbaras describe it as the work of Vyantara gods at the bidding of Indra, while the Digambaras say that Indra himself was the architect (who of course erected it with the help of his attendant gods).

It is a special structure, usually an elaborate circular theatre with fortifications, for beings to sit in and listen to the discourse. The Samavasaraṇa, primarily described as constructed for the first discourse of every Jina, is sometimes understood to have been prepared for other sermons also, or when a powerful god pays his visit to a Jina, he erects a similar special structure.[3]

Detailed descriptions of such Assembly-Halls are obtained in the Jaina Purāṇas of both the sects, typical elaborate examples of which are available in the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (parva 1) of Hemacandra,[4] in the Śvetāmbara tradition, and the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena in the Digambara tradition.[5]

The Kalpa-sūtra does not refer to the Samavasaraṇa or the festival

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[1] First discussed by Bhandarkar, D. R. *Jaina Iconography*, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XL (1911), pp. 125-130; 153-161. Also, Ramacandran, T. N., *Tiruparuttikuṇram and its temples*, pp. 105 ff.

[2] Explained by Dhanapāla as समवसरणं सुरकृतं तीर्थकृतां धर्मदेशनास्थानम् in his comm. on Śobhana, *Stuticaturviṁśatikā*, verse 94.

[3] Cf. A samavasaraṇa was erected when Mahāvīra visited the Vipulāgiri at Rājagṛha, *Padmacarita*, 2.102 ff. pp. 17-18. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthās 540 and 544.

[4] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, (text), parva I, (ed. of Caraṇavijaya) sarga 3, vv. 422 ff., transl., GOS. Vol. LI, pp. 190 ff. and 334 ff.

[5] *Mahāpurāṇa* (Ādipurāṇa), 22.76-312, pp. 515-538. Amongst other sources of both the sects, see, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī*, pp. 324 ff; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 341, 345; *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* of Haribhadra, pp. 229 ff., *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa, pp. 17 ff. 58 ff, *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, 17 ff, 652 ff., *Samavasaraṇa-stava*, with avacūri of Dharmaghoṣa, discussed by Dr. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*; *Samavasaraṇa-racanā-kalpa* of Jinaprabha in *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, pp. 87-88, *Samavasaraṇa-stotra* of Viṣṇusena (date uncertain), published in *Siddhāntasārādi-saṁgraha* (M. D. J. Series, Bombay, No. 21,), pp. 133-139.

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celebrated by gods at the time of the Kevalajñāna of Mahāvīra.[1] But the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti does describe it.[2] It may be noted that not a single representation of the Samavasaraṇa is known from the Āyāgapaṭas from Mathurā. The elaborate conception of the samavasaraṇa, if at all it existed in the Kuṣāṇa age, has to be inferred from representations like the mutilated Toraṇa-arch from Mathurā,[3] (now in the Lucknow Museum), fig. 16 showing gods and men going to worship a Jina. The term samavasaraṇa, for such an elaborate conception, seems to have originated from texts like the Aupapātika, sūtra 10, where Mahāvīra is said to have arrived at Pūrṇabhadra Caitya near Campā, with a view to hold a congregation (*samosariuṁ kāme.*)[4]

According to Hemachandra,[5] when Ṛṣabha obtained Kevalajñāna, Indra ordained the Vyantara gods to erect a Samavasaraṇa. The Vāyukumāras first cleaned the ground for one Yojana,[6] the Meghakumāras then sprinkled it with fragrant water, the Vānavyantaras showered flowers on it. The Vyantara gods covered the surface of the earth with shining mosaics of gold and jewels and, in four directions, they created arches (*toraṇa*) of jewels, rubies and gold, having on their tops tall puppets (*Śālabhañjikā*) with reflecting surfaces. Makara-ornaments of glistening sapphire shone on the arches, giving the impression of banners abondoned by the dying Makaraketu (Cupid).[7] The arches were adorned with flags and white umbrellas above and the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgalas*—svastika, etc.) below looked like those on offering-slabs (*Balipaṭṭas*).

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[1] *Kalpa-sūtra*, sūtras 120-121, Jacobi's transl. SBE., p. 263. Brown says that it is implied in KS. 120-121, see p. 38 of his *Miniature Paintings of the Jain Kalpa Sutra.*

[2] *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, gāthās 539-569, *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, pp. 229-235.

[3] Smith and Codrington, *History of Fine Arts* In India And Ceylon, pl. 21; Bühler, *Ep. Ind*, Vol. II, pp. 319 ff. pl. III.

[4] *Aupapātika*, sū 10, p. 39, cf. :—'उवागए चंपं नगरीं पुण्णभद्दं चेइअं समोसरिउं कामे.'

[5] Summarised from *Triṣaṣṭi, op. cit.* For comparison I have quoted the Niryukti gāthās at some places.

[6] A Jaina Yojana=8 miles approx., See Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭi*, parva 1, pp. 192, ff. n. 452.

[7] Cf. :—मणिकणगरयणचित्तं भूमीभागं समन्तओ सुरभिं ।
आजोअणन्तरेणं करेन्ति देवा विचित्तं तु ॥ ५४५ ॥
वेण्टट्ठाइं सुरभिं जलथलयं दिव्वकुसुमणीहारीं ।
पइरंति समन्तेणं दसाद्धवण्णं कुसुमवासं ॥ ५४६ ॥
मणिकणगरयणचित्ते चउद्दिसिं तोरणे विउव्वन्ति ।
सच्छत्तसालभंजियमयरद्धयचिंधसंठाणे ॥ ५४७ ॥
Āvaśyaka Niryukti, in *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, pp. 230-31.

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The Vimānavāsī gods made the upper-most rampart of jewels (*ratna*) with battlements (*kapiśīrṣa*) of various gems. In the middle part, the Jyotiṣka-gods made a rampart (*vapra*) of gold with battlements of jewels on it. The third and the outermost fortification-wall, constructed by the Bhavanapati-gods, was made of silver and decorated on top with extensive battlements or coping stones of golden lotuses.[1]

Each of these walls or ramparts had four ornamental gateways (*gopura*). At each gate, jars of incense were set by the Vyantara gods.[2] Besides, at each gate, they made a tank (*vāpī*) with golden lotuses and having four gates like the rampart of the samavasaraṇa.

To the north-east, inside the second wall, they made a dais (*devacchanda*) for the Master to rest on. On both sides of the east-gate of the first rampart stood two gold-coloured Vaimānika gods, as door-keepers. At its south-gate at the sides stood white Vyantara gods, at the west-gate two Jyotiṣka gods of red colour, and at the north-gate two Bhavanādhipatis black like clouds, stood as doorkeepers. At the four gates of the second wall[3], in the same order, beginning with the east, stood the goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā, each with one hand in the abhaya-mudrā and the other three hands carrying the noose, the goad and the hammer. On the last rampart at each gate, stood a Tumburu as door-keeper, carrying a skull-crowned club (*khaṭvāṅga*) having a garland of human skulls, and adorned with a coronet of matted hair.[4]

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[1] Cf. :—तिन्नि य पागारवरे रयणविचित्ते तहि सुरगणिंदा ।
मणिकंचणकविसीसगविभूसिए ते विउव्वंति ॥ ५४८ ॥
अब्भन्तर मज्झ बहिं विमाणजोइभवणाहिवकया उ ।
पागारा तिण्णि भवे रयणे कणगे य रायए य ॥ ५४९ ॥
Āvaśyaka Niryukti, op. cit., p. 231.

[2] Cf. :—मणिरयणहेमयाविय कविसीसा सव्वरयणिया दारा ।
सव्वरयणमया च्चिय पडागधयतोरणविचित्ता ॥ ५५० ॥
तत्तो य समंतेणं कालागरुकुन्दुरुक्कमीसेण ।
गंधेण मणहरेणं धूवघडीओ विउव्वंति ॥ ५५१ ॥
Ibid., p. 231.

[3] The distance between any two walls, as laid down by Jinaprabha, *op. cit.*, is one gavyūta and 600 dhanus. 1 gavyūta = 4 miles ; 1 dhanus = 4 hastas or cubits. The thickness of a wall = 33 cubits, heights 500 cubits. For a discussion on measurements, see Kapadia, H. R., *Stuti-Caturviṁśatikā* of Śobhana, (Guj. edition) and *avacūri* on *Samavasaraṇa-stava* of Dharmaghoṣa.

[4] The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, and the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* do not refer to the door-keepers.

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In the midst of the Samavasaraṇa, a Caitya-tree was made by the Vyantaras, rising 3 Kos,[1] beneath it a platform (*pīṭha*) with manifold jewels, on it they made a dais (*Chandaka*) of gems. In the centre of it, to the east was placed a jewelled lion-throne with foot-stool. Above the throne shone the white triple-umbrella, on both sides Yakṣas held two white fly-whisks. At the gate of the Samavasaraṇa, they placed, on a golden lotus, the *dharma-cakra* of remarkable light.[2]

Gods use nine lotuses in turn for the Master to walk on while reaching the congregation. Entering the Samavasaraṇa by the east-gate, the Jina makes pradakṣiṇā of the Caitya-tree and bowing to the congregation (*tīrtha*) takes his seat on the lion-throne. Vyantara gods make three life-like images of the Lord and place them in the other three directions so that everyone in the assembly finds himself facing the Lord.[3] Behind the Jina appears the resplendent halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*), a drum is sounded in the skies (*devadundubhi*), and a jewelled banner blazes in front of the Lord.[4]

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[1] Kos = $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Yojana. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 192, n. 452.

[2] Cf. :—उक्कुट्ठिसीहणायं कलयलसद्देण सव्वओ सव्वं ।
तित्थगरपायमूले करेंति देवा णिवयमाणा ॥ ५५२ ॥
चेइयदुमपेढछंदय आसणछत्तं च चामराओ य ।
जं च अन्नं करणिज्जं करेंति तं वाणमंतरिया ॥ ५५३ ॥
Āvaśyaka Niryukti, op.cit., pp. 231-32.

According to later texts there is usually an Aśoka-tree, but the discussion of heights of Aśoka-trees in samavasaraṇas of different Jinas shows that Caitya-trees (trees of enlightenment) of different Jinas were there, above which was the Aśoka tree. See, Dharmaghoṣa *op. cit.*

[3] Cf. :—सूरोदय पच्चिछमाए ओगाहन्तीए पुव्वओऽईइ ।
दोहिं पउमेहिं पाया मग्गेण य होइ सत्तऽन्ने ॥ ५५५ ॥
आयाहिण पुव्वमुहो तिदिसिं पडिरूवगा उ देवकया ।
जेट्ठगणी अन्नो वा दाहिणपुव्वे अदूरंमि ॥ ५५६ ॥
जे ते देवेहिं कया तिदिसिं पडिरूवगा जिणवरस्स ।
तेसिं पि तप्पभावा तयाणुरूवं हवइ रूवं ॥ ५५७ ॥
Āvaśyaka Niryukti, op. cit., pp. 231-32.

[4] Jinaprabha and Dharmaghoṣa give measurements of the different parts of the Samavasaraṇa, the unit for each such assembly being the hasta of the Jina for whom it is made. Since the heights of different Jinas are given in a descending order from 1st to the 24th Jina, the Samavasaraṇa becomes smaller with each succeeding Jina.

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In the first rampart is the place for the sādhus and the sādhvīs. The Vaimānika women enter by the east-gate and take their seats between these two groups, in the south-east direction. Entering by the south-gate, the women of the Bhavanavāsī gods, Jyotiṣkas and Vyantaras stand in the south-west. Entering by the west-gate, the Bhavanapatis, Jyotiṣkas and Vyantaras stand in the west. Entering by the north-gate, the Kalpavāsī gods, men and women, stand successively in the north-east. The animals stand inside the second wall and the animals used as conveyances in the third wall.[1]

According to Jinaprabha, 1000 steps lead from the ground to the outer rampart, 5000 more from the third to the second, and 5000 from second to the first (or the innermost). At each gate are erected flag-posts and jewelled arches, figures of eight auspicious marks are drawn, a full-vase *(kalas'a)* and garlands placed, small statues *(pāñcālikās)* and umbrellas decorate the gates. The samavasaraṇa may be either circular or square, if circular, there are two wells (vāpī) in each gate; if square, a well is provided in each corner.[2]

A very interesting account of the Samavasaraṇa is however provided by Jinasena in his Mahāpurāṇa.[3] Indra himself is the architect of the Samavasaraṇa, which is circular in plan with a diameter of twelve yojanas,[4] and made of *indra-nīla* (blue) gems. It was surrounded by a mud-wall *(dhūli-sāla)* of dust particles of various gems, which produced rain-bow effect with rays of different colours. On four sides were *toraṇa-dvārās* (arched gateways) of golden pillars shining with makara faces having jewel garlands hung on them.

Going a little inside the dhūlisāla, in the midst of roads *(vīthi)* were erected tall *Māna-stambhas* or pillars, made of gold, one in each direction. They stood on platforms *(pīṭhikā)* reached by a flight of 16 golden steps, and situated in the midst of a Jagatī (lit. area or basement mouldings), purified by the ablution waters of the Jina, surrounded by three walls *(sāla)* and having four gates *(gopura)*. Reaching the sky, the pillars, true to their name, curbed (stambha)

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[1] *Āv. Nir.* verses 558-560. The details regarding entrance are first given by Bhāṣya verses 116-119 on above. See *Āv. vṛtti*, pp. 232-234.

[2] For Śve. account, also see *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, Vol. VII. pp. 466 ff.

[3] Ramachandran, *op. cit.* p. 105, has noted that similar accounts are also obtained in the Tamil epics Śrī-Purāṇa and the Merumandara Purāṇa (a Tamil classic by Vāmana, alias Malliṣeṇa c. 14th Cent. A. D., ed. by Prin. A. Chakravarti, Madras). His description does not strictly follow Jinasena and seems to have mainly followed either or both the Tamil works. *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, 4th adhikāra, vv. 717 ff, Vol. I. p. 212 ff. is another Digambara source giving such details.

[4] 24 aṅgulas (inches) = 1 hasta; 4 hastas = 1 dhanus; 2000 dhanus = 1 kros'a; 4 kros'a = 1 yojana—See Ramachandran *op. cit.*; p. 106. n. 1.

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the pride (māna) of the infatuated or were so called on account of their measuring as it were of the three worlds (with their heights).[1] Adorned with flags and bells, they looked like quarter-elephants (dik-gaja). At their bases were kept golden images of the Jinendra worshipped with waters of the Kṣīra-sāgara, by the Indras. Accessories of worship, flowers etc., were lying over the pīṭhikās (platforms). Music and dancing continued incessantly before the statues of the Jina, by the side of these pillars. The pīṭhikās were in the centre of the *jagatī*, on these platforms were smaller platforms (pītha-) in three tiers (*trimekhalam*),[2] on whose tops the pillars stood, with beautiful bases and adorned with triple-umbrellas on tops. Being erected by Indras, they are also known as *Indradhvajas*.

Step-wells, four in each direction, filled with pure water and shining with lotuses grown in them adorned the area near these pillars. Their flight of steps was made of gems and the embankments-surface (*taṭībhuvah*) made of crystals. Smaller kuṇḍas (pits-ponds) on their sides were meant for washing feet.

A little away from these vāpīs, was a moat filled with water, full of lotuses and encircling the samavasaraṇa area. Inside of it was also a *latāvana* (creeper-grove) adorned with flowers, small trees and creepers, having also a *krīḍāparvata* (pleasure-hill), bowers of creepers, etc.

Going a little away from it (*parikhā-moat*) was visible the first rampart (*prākāra-sāla*), made of gold, having its top studded with rows of pearls. The fortification was at places adorned with (representations of) pairs of elephants, horses and tigers, at places with parrots, swans and peacocks, or with figures of human pairs. On its inner and outer surfaces it was shining with reliefs of the Kalpa-latā (wish-fulfilling creepers), and was resplendant all over. On four directions it (sāla) was adorned with gatewayas (gopura) of silver with pinnacles (śikhara) made of the red padmarāga gems. Each gateway was adorned with 108 maṅgalas like the bhṛṅgāra, kalaśa, mirror etc, and 100 arches (toraṇa) made beautiful with jewel ornaments. Near each gateway were placed the nine *nidhis* (treasures). On each side of the highways starting from these gateways were situated two *nāṭya-śālās* (theatres) for enacting dramas and performance of dance and music. Each theatre was divided into three compartments with shining walls and golden pillars. Heavenly damsels continued dance and music on the stage (*raṅga-bhūmi*).[3]

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[1] See, *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena, 22. 93-102, vol. I. pp. 515 ff.

[2] Of a triangular shape, according to the explanation offered in the *Ādipurāṇa*, in the Hindi translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 515 ff. See also the discussion on 'caitya, stūpa, stambha' in the preceding pages.

[3] This account mainly follows *Ādi-purāṇa*, parva 22, vol. I. pp. 514 ff.

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At some distance inward from these theatres were placed on each side two big incense-burners (*dhūpa-ghaṭa*) issuing fragrant smoke. Still further were situated on the bye-ways, on the sides of the highroads, four forest-groves of Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Mango trees respectively with square or triangular step-wells (vāpī) inside where heavenly damsels take their bath. At some places were lotus-ponds, at others, *krīḍamaṇḍapas* (pavilions used as pleasure-resorts) artificial hillocks, mansions (*harmya*), *prekṣā-gṛhas*,[1] *citra-śālās* (picture-galleries), *eka-śālās and dvi-śālās* (single-roomed or double-roomed buildings),[2] or big palaces (*mahā-prāsāda*). There were, again rivers with beautiful sandy-beeches, green lawns (*śādvala-bhūmi*) and so on. In the Aśoka-vana, there was in the centre, (a Caitya-tree) Aśoka-tree on a three-tiered golden platform (*trimekhalam pīṭham*) and encircled by three walls each with four gateways. Near it were maṅgala-dravyas like the chatra, cāmara, bhṛṅgāra, kalaśa etc. The Caitya-tree was adorned with bells and festoons, having on top a triple-umbrella with pearl-festoons. At its root were four images of the Jinendra worshipped by Indra and other gods, men and other beings. Similarly, the other three forests had saptaparna, the campaka and the mango tree respectively.

At the ends of the forests were golden Vana-vedikās (dais or a shed—maṇḍapa—with seats) with tall gateways. On the gateways were hanging festoons (*jāla*) of bells, and wreaths (*ālambaka*) of pearls and flowers, ornaments and aṣṭamaṅgalas. In front of the vedikās were golden flagstaffs erected on high jewel platforms (pīṭhikā). The banners (ketana or dhvaja) were of ten types according to the marks or symbols on them—garland, garment, peacock, figures lotus, swan, eagle, lion, bull, elephant and disc. The description shows that figures of eagles, peacocks etc. rested on the top of the staff.[3]

Beyond the flagstaffs, was situated a tall rampart made of silver with gateways of silver and followed by Nāṭyaśālās etc., described above, with forests of kalpa-trees. In the midst of these trees were Siddhārtha-trees, having images of Siddhas placed on their bases. Beyond the gopuras of these walls, was a big highway having on both sides rows of beautiful buildings erected by celestial artists. Some had single rooms, some had double apartments, some had three while others had four (one inside the other), some had *Candraśālās* (terrace-rooms) or were adorned with *aṭṭālikās* (balconies). There were

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[1] Prekṣā-gṛahas are theatres etc.

[2] Also Eka-śālā = one-storeyed building.

[3] cf:—गरुत्मद्ध्वजदण्डाग्रमध्यासीना विनायकाः।
रेजुः स्वैः पक्षविक्षेपैः लीलाङ्गयिषवो नु खम् ॥ २२६ ॥
—*Māhāpurāṇa*, (*Ādipurāṇa*), p. 526.

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besides, on these roads, *Kūṭāgāras*[1], *Sabhāgṛhas* (Town-halls), *Prekṣā-gṛhas* (theaters). In the Kūṭāgāras were beds for resting and excellent seats (furniture) where Devas, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Kinnaras, Vidyādharas, and Nāgakumāras used to sport, dance or sing.

In the centre of each of these highways (possibly four highways, crossing each other, from the four gates) were nine lofty *Stūpas* (domes) made of padmarāga gems, adorned on all sides with images of Siddhas and Arhats. The festoons and garlands of jewels (ratna-toraṇamālikā) adorned the central portion (of the outer wall) of these domes which were surmounted by umbrellas, and decorated with flags and maṅgala objects. Pious souls bathed the images installed here and worshipping, praising and circumambulating them, had their hearts filled with joy.

At some distance beyond these stūpas and the rows of mansions, was erected another rampart of the sphaṭika (crystal) gems. Other details regarding gateways etc., being same as in the first rampart, need not be repeated. On the gateways of the first ramparts, Vyantara gods stood as doorkeepers, on those of the second, the Bhavanavāsīs and of the third, the Kalpavāsī gods, holding mace and the like weapons. In the last rampart, on the sides of the four highways there were smaller double walls, making a total of 16 such walls, extending upto to the main-central pīṭha. On these walls was a *Śrī-maṇḍapa*,[2] one yojana in area, from which Yakṣas scattered flowers over the audience in the Assembly. On account of the supernatural powers of the Jina, all gods, men and animals could obtain sufficient accomodation in the Śri-Maṇḍapa, even though it was only a yojan in area. In its centre was the first pīṭhikā of Vaiḍūrya gems, having on its sides sixteen flights of sixteen steps each. On these pīṭhikās were placed the aṣṭamaṅgalas and yakṣas stood with dharmacakras on their shoulders. On this was erected a second piṭhīkā of gold with banners in eight directions. The third pīṭha was made of various jewels, and of three tiers, with a dharmacakra, and a banner. On this last pīṭha Kubera erected a *Gandhakuṭī* (pavilion) surpassing in beauty tbe heavenly vimānas, shining with numerous banners and pinnacles hanging pearl-festoons, and golden lattice-work. In this Gandhakuṭī (600 dhanus long, equally broad and a little more than 600 dhanus in height) was placed a lion-throne made of various jewels extremely elegant in appearance, lustrous and surpassing in beauty the mount Meru. On it sat the Lord on whom were scattered flowers by gods. Near the Lord was the Aśoka tree, and above him were thc three white umbrellas. On his sides stood 64 Yakṣas waving flywhisks, behind him

[1] Halls or buildings where people could hide themselves—according to the explanation offered by commentators.

[2] Śrī-Maṇḍapa seems to be the same as Balānaka.

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shone the resplendent *bhāmaṇḍala* (halo). In the sky rose the sound of celestial drums beaten by gods.

Descriptions in traditions of both the sects agree in broad outline, *viz.*, a central pavilion for the Jina, placed on a big platform, and surrounded by three different fortifications each having four archways in four directions. Originally the conception of the Samavasaraṇa seems to be circular in plan and the square plan seems to be a later conception. But it shows that the samavasaraṇa has for its prototype the big stūpa (the *harmikā* of stūpa may be compared with Gandhakuṭi or Devacchand-pīṭha for the Jina) surrounded by a circumambulatory path with a small railing reached by a flight of steps. At a lower level or on the ground level, running around this central structure and at some distance from it is the bigger railing (a sort of rampart) with ornamental toraṇa-gateways. Add to this a third similar rampart and we get the plan of the Samavasaraṇa.[1]

But the more elaborate Digambara description, in the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena, summarised above, includes in it the various constituents of a big city and may be an ideal description of a big city-site with three fortifications, a surroundig moat, pleasure resorts, stepwells, theatres, lawns, lakes, palaces etc., and having in its centre the Royal Palace. Viewed in this light, these descriptions are of special interest as providing us with architectural data of considerable value.

In Kalpa-Sūtra miniatures Samavasaraṇa is generally represented as circular and occasionally as square in plan. Brown's Pl. 23, fig. 80 shows Mahāvīra sitting in the padmāsana in the centre of the samavasaraṇa, with a yakṣa standing as an attendant on each side. Mahāvīra is not in a monk's garb, but with ornaments etc., as is often done in Śvetāmbara worship. Four highways lead to the central Jina. The ornamental concentric bands round the Jina represent the usual fortifications. The whole is enclosed in a rectangular panel, at four corners of which are represented pairs of animals who have natural animosities, which they are supposed to give up under the spiritual atmosphere of this great congregation. Brown's figures 113, and 126 are of a similar composition, representing the samavasaraṇa of Ariṣṭanemi and Ṛṣabha respectively. His fig. 99 represents the second type, here a samavasaraṇa

[1] The square or circular Samavasaraṇa has for its prototype the square or circular funeral mounds (or structures) referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, or the Eḍūka-Aiḍuka of Mahābhārata, Viṣṇudharmottara and other texts. A more critical study of the detailed measurements of the Samavasaraṇas described in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti etc., would probably give us a plan of square or circular stūpas in ancient India.

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of Pārśvanātha.[1] The pairs of animals are not represented.[2]

The fresco paintings of Śittaṇṇavāsal, assigned to the Age of Mahendravarman I, contain in the ceiling, a scene of a big lotus pond with animals such as elephants and bulls, birds, and fishes frolicking about and men gathering lotus flowers, which has been identified by Ramacandran, as the Khāṭikābhūmi or the tank region with the faithful (bhavyas) pleasing themselves by gathering lotus-flowers.[3]

The wall and ceiling paintings at Tirumalai, North Arcot district (c. 11th Cent. A. D.) also contain a representation of the samavasaraṇa structure in the usual form of a wheel, the painting being of less artistic merit.[4]

Ramacandran has described at length the painting of a samavasaraṇa in the Vardhamāna temple at Jina-kāñcī, which need not be reproduced here.[5]

Representations of samavasaraṇas are available in reliefs showing lives of different Jinas, an example of it from the life of Śāntinātha, in a ceiling in the Vimala Vasahi, (Ābu) Bhāva No. 19 is noteworthy.[6] Loose sculptures, mostly circular, showing three ramparts, one above the other, surmounted by a square pavilion showing the Jina-sitting on each side are also obtained, a beautiful example of which from the above temple (cell. 20) has been discussed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[7] A big sized beautiful bronze structure of a similar plan, installed in the eleventh century, brought from a shrine in Mārwār and now in a Jaina shrine at Surat is illustrated here in fig. 76. Examples of such loose stone or metal sculptures and reliefs are numerous and scattered in Jaina shrines all over India. The upper part of a samavasaraṇa, the pavilion or the Gandhakuṭi with the Jina facing each side has been a subject of representation by itself and receives

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[1] Another miniature showing a square Samavasaraṇa, of Mahāvīra, from a ms. of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra, is illustrated by Brown, *A Ms. of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra illustrated in the Early W. Indian Style*, New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 2. (May 1938) pp. 127 ff, fig. 2.

[2] For other miniatures of Samavasaraṇas, see *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, figs. 72, 74, 244. Also, Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue*, Vol. IV.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LI, pp. 45-7; *Jaina Miniature Paintings In Western India*, pp. 10 ff, fig 1-2.

[4] Ramacandran, *Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples*, p. 62, n. 1, Smith & Codrington, *History of Fine Arts*, p. 344.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, painting No. 36, and pp. 104 ff. pp. 124 ff. pls. XIX ff. pp. 130 ff. pls. XXIII, XXIV, etc.

[6] *Ābu*, (Guj. ed.), Vol. I. pp. 78 f and illustration at the end; also Bhāva 15, p. 74 and plate at the end represents the life-story of some other Jina, with samavasaraṇa in the centre.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL., pp. 125 ff, and plate. See *Holy Ābu*, Figure, 21.

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worship as the *Caumukha*, the *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* of Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa age. The conception being allied to and an essential part of the Samavasaraṇa, it may be inferred that installation of such Caumukhas (Figs. 28, 74 and 84) in ancient times were possibly regarded as symbolic representtions of samavasaraṇas. It is safer to assume that the practice of installing sculptures of this type was an old practice common to the cult of Caitya and Yakṣa worship and separate images were installed and worshipped or four sides of a Caitya or a pillar. Another important part of a Samavasaraṇa, in the Digambara tradition, is the Māna-stambha (Fig. 56 from Devagaḍh) or Indra-dhvaja, which has been very popular amongst the Digambara Jainas, and such free-standing columns erected near a Jaina shrine, in front of it on in the courtyard of the shrine, are very numerous in the South. An early example of such columns, with 4 different Jinas in relief near the base, is the inscribed Kahaon pillar (U. P.) erected in the Gupta age.[1] Some later examples are obtained in the Devagaḍh fort, and still later ones are quite numerous at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and other sites in the South.

[1] Erected in A.D. 460-61, see, Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 66-68.

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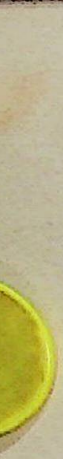

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6. SIDDHA-CAKRA OR NAVA-DEVATĀ

The Siddha-Cakra is a very popular (tantric) yantra (diagram) in the Jaina cult. It is constituted of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins or The Five Supreme Ones and the four Essentials for Salvation, together forming the Nava-Pada or 'nine padas.' The worship of the Siddha-Cakra (Circle of the Siddhas or Sacred Ones) alias Navapada (Diagram formed of Nine Dignities[1]) even to day very popular in the Jaina Saṁgha, forms an interesting study not only on account of its antiquity but also for its importance in the Jaina theology. Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the diagram is more popular as Siddha-Cakra, whereas the Digambara sect worships it as Nava-Devatā. There is however, some difference in the two diagrams, the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins remaining common to both. But essentially both are one, since it is the worship of these Five Supreme ones that is mainly emphasised. The Five Supreme Ones of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra[2] are *Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya* and *Sādhu* and denote the very essence of Jaina religious practice. The 108 qualities (guṇas) of these Five Supreme Ones[3] are to be meditated upon in this worship. In the Śvetāmbara practice, *i.e.*, in the worship of the Siddha-Cakra, besides the above five are worshipped the four essentials (or the four-fold religion), namely, *samyak-jñāna, samyak-darśana, samyak-cāritra,* and *samyak-tapa,*[4] constituting the fourfold virtue made of the Right Knowledge, Right Faith, Right Conduct, and Right Penance.

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[1] 'Pada' is explained as Dignity. It is not any particular person (or persons) that is worshipped but the 'pada' or Dignity, *i. e,* merits or virtues associated with him. In practice however figures of the Five Parameṣṭhins are carved or painted.

[2] The Mantra is obtained in the beginning of the Bhagavatī sūtra, the Kalpa-sūtra and in the Mahāniśītha, 3rd adhyayana. Bhadrabāhu has discussed the Five Padas of this mantra in his Namaskāra-Niryukti.

[3] The Arhats are emancipated souls of whom the Tīrthaṅkaras establish the four-fold tīrtha or the Jaina Saṁgha. They are said to possess 46 qualities which can be regrouped into 12; the Siddhas or emancipated souls who have left their ethereal bodies and who reside on the Siddha-Śilā on top of the Universe, have 8 chief qualities; the Ācāryas who are heads of the various groups of Jaina monks are endowed with 36 principal qualities; the Upādhyāyas are those monks who teach scriptures and have 25 chief merits; the Sādhus are all other Jaina monks, who have 27 chief qualities besides other subsidiary ones.

[4] For an explanation of these concepts see, *Siri Sirivālakahā,* vv. 24-34.

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As they symbolise the very essence of the Jaina Faith, the Nine Padas or "the Nine Worthies of Respect" acquired great sanctity and popularity amongst the Jainas of both the sects. The Digambaras, however, differed from the Śvetāmbaras with regard to these last four Padas. According to them, the four Padas are: the *Caitya* or Jina image, the *Caityālaya* or Jina-temple, the *Dharma-Cakra* or the Sacred Wheel of Law, and *Śruta* or the speech of the Tīrthaṅkaras represented by Jaina Scriptures.

Figure 85 represents a bronze tablet of the Siddha-Cakra worshipped by the Śvetāmbara sect. The diagram has the form of an eight-petalled lotus with the different worthies (padas) arranged as follows: The Arhat in the centre, the Siddha just above, the Ācārya to his right, the Upādhyāya below the Arhat, and the Sādhu to the left of the central figure. The Namaskāra-mantra or the obeissance formula to the Right Faith *(Om Hrim namo daṁsaṇassa)* is inserted on the petal between the Siddha and the Ācārya, that of Right knowledge *(Om Hrim namo nāṇassa)* between the Ācārya and the Upādhyāya, that of Right conduct *(Om Hrim namo Cārittassa)* between the latter and the Sādhu, and that of Penance *(Om Hrim namo tavassa)* between the Sādhu and the Siddha. It will be seen that here invocations are offered to the abstract qualities but they are not worshipped as anthropomorphic deities. The Arhat and the Siddha sit in the padmāsana showing the dhyāna mudrā; while the remaining three Parameṣṭhins are in the same posture, they seem to carry some object in one hand with the other resting on the lap. As figures are indistinct in this bronze, it is not possible to identify the symbol held by them. But paintings of the Siddha-Cakra are common and in these,[1] each of these figures lets his left hand rest on the lap while the right one, held in the *Vyākhyānamudrā*, carries a *muha-paṭli (mukha-paṭṭikā)* or mouth-piece.[2] In the bronze illustrated here,[3] the whole lotus is encircled by a beautiful design while a gargoyle is attached to the lower end so as to allow the ablution water to pass through it.

It may be noted that in paintings of this diagram, each of the five Parameṣṭhins has a particular complexion, necessary for his *dhyāna* in the Tantric sādhana of the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are of white, red, yellow, blue and black complexion respectively. The colour of the remaining four members of the

[1] See, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. IX. (1941), fig. 1 on pl. facing p. 44.

[2] It is a piece of cloth held in front of the mouth in order to avoid insects flying into it, thereby safeguarding against violence or hiṁsā.

[3] Preserved in the Baroda Museum. Discussed by me in Baroda Museum Bulletin, Vol. 3, pl. I, pp. 25 ff.

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Nava-Pada is to be visualised, in meditation, as white according to the Nava-Pada-Ārādhanā-vidhi [1]

The Digambara diagram of Nava-Devatā is illustrated by a bronze from a temple at Jina-Kāñcī [2] (fig. 77). The Digambara tantra has two more diagrams known as the Laghu-Siddha-Cakra and the Bṛhat-Siddha-Cakra both of which are widely different from the Nava-Devatā or the Śvetāmbara Siddha-Cakra. As they are rarely engraved on metal plates and worshipped in temples, a discussion on them is not necessary. Besides, they have no special iconographic importance.

The Digambara Nava-Devatā diagram forms the central eight-petalled lotus of the elaborate Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi-maṇḍala described by Nemicandra in his Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka. [3] The Nava-Devatās are also invoked in the Nitya-samdhyā-kriyā-vidhi of the Jina-Saṁhitā [4] ascribed to Indranandī, the well-known Digambara Tantric of c. tenth century A. D. The Yantra-mantra-vidhi section of the Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-tippaṇam [5] of Vādi Kumudacandra (c. 1275 V. S.) which mentions different Digambara yantras, also describes an elaborate 'Pañca-Maṇḍala' called Nava-Devatā, the central eight-petalled lotus of which is reserved for the worship of the Five Parameṣṭhins, the Jina-temple, the Jina-image, the Jaina scripture and the Dharma-Cakra. Obviously, the Arhat amongst these, is placed in the centre of the eight-petalled lotus.

The Jina-Saṁhitā of Ekasaṁdhi (c. 1250 A. D.) prescribes in the Devārcana-vidhi section, a big maṇḍala with an eight-petalled lotus in centre, wherein are invoked the Five Parameṣṭhins, and the symbols (?) of samyak-jñāna, s-darśana, and s-cāritra; tapa, however, is omitted, possibly through a copyist's mistake. The maṇḍala contains, moreover, invocations to the goddesses of the Jayā and the Jambhā groups, the sixteen Vidyādevīs, the twenty-four Yakṣiṇīs and others. According to the author of this work, the maṇḍala followed the tradition of Indranandī. Thus the central part of this elaborate diagram completely corresponds to the still existing type of the Śvetāmbara Siddha-Cakra illustrated in our figure 85. Again, in the Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi section, the same writer, following Indranandī, gives a bigger maṇḍala including

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[1] Also, Siri Sirivāla-Kahā, verses 1185-1191.

[2] First published by Shri Ramacandran, T. N., *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2

[3] *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka*, pp. 72-73. Āśādhara in his *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, p. 20, appears to suggest the same thing.

[4] Incomplete mss. of this work are available in Digambara Bhāṇḍāras. One such (No. 182-Ka) exists in Śrī Ailaka Pannālāl Dig. Jaina Bhāṇḍāra, Bombay.

[5] In mss. No. 222/kha, Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah.

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all the above-mentioned deities and many more, and invokes the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins and the four-padas, namely, Jñāna, Darśana, Cāritra and Tapa, in the central eight-petalled lotus. That what the Digambaras worshipped as a Siddha-Cakra yantra, was quite different from the Śvetāmbara one of the same name as also from the Digambara Nava-Devatā, is quite evident from the descriptions of the Laghu-Siddha-Cakra and the Bṛhat-Siddha-Cakra yantras given by Āśādhara,[1] Ekasaṁdhi,[2] and Vādi Kumudacandra.[3]

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the Nine Worthies were also the first group of deities invoked in the elaborate Nandyāvarta-maṇḍala[4] prescribed for consecratory rites by the Ācāra-Dinakara[5] (1468 V. S.). The Nirvāṇkalikā (c. 11th Century A. D.) refers to the same maṇḍala,[6] but in the invocation mantras 'tapas' or Right Penance is replaced by *Śuci-vidyā*. Hemacandra, in his Yogaśāstra[7] describes a yantra with Five Parameṣṭhins, but instead of adding the four padas noted above (Jñāna, Darśana etc.), the four 'padas' of the Namaskāra-mantra (Navakāra-mantra) giving the *fala-śruti* are prescribed in the intervening quarters (*vidik-patras* of the eight-fold lotus).[8] Thus the yantra of Hemacandra, partly different from the Siddha-Cakra known today, proves that the older Nava-pada-yantra was composed simply of the various parts of the older 'Navakāra-mantra'. And it is interesting to note that Hemacandra does not specify it as Siddha-Cakra. The same writer, however, refers to the Siddha-Cakra as a diagram brought to light, by Vajrasvāmi, from the lost Vidyānupravāda-pūrvva text, in the early centuries of the Christian era.[9] Unfortunately, the yantra is not described in this context and the

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1 *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, Chp. 6, siddha-pratiṣṭhāvidhi, verses 10-14.

2 *Jinasaṁhitā*, (Mss.), Chp. 9, verses 88.

3 *Pratiṣṭhā-Kalpa-Ṭippaṇam*, Yantra-mantra-vidhi-section. (Ms.)

4 Diagram of the shape of the Nandyāvarta symbol.

5 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, part 2, pp. 154. ff

6 *Nirvāṇakalikā*, pp. 16 ff. note the order PKT. verses quoted here.

7 *Yogaśāstra*, Chp. 8, verses 33-35.

8 The original mantra known as the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra is
नमो अरिहंताणं। नमो सिद्धाणं। नमो आयरियाणं। नमो उवज्झायाणं। नमो लोए सव्व-साहूणं।
This followed by a *fala-śruti* in four padas (called culāpadas by Hemcandra) would constitute a Navakāra-mantra. The 4 padas are:—
एसो पंच नमुक्कारो। सव्वपापप्पणासणो। मंगलाणं च सव्वेसिं। पढमं हवइ मंगलं।

9 ज्ञानवह्निः समाम्नातं वज्रस्वाम्यादिभिः स्फुटम्।
विद्यानुवादात्समुद्धृत्य बीजभूतं शिवश्रियः॥ ७४॥
जन्मदावहुताशस्य प्रशान्तनववारिदम्।
गुरूपदेशाद्विज्ञाय सिद्धचक्रं विचिन्तयेत्॥ ७५॥
Yoga-śāstra, 8, verses 74-75.

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disciple is invited to learn it from the preceptor. Very probably, this Siddha-Cakra, was based on the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-namaskāra-mantra (Pañcanamaskāra, shortly), with or without its '*falaśruti*'.

It seems that in the earlier stage the Siddha-Cakra diagram included the worship of the five Parameṣṭhins only, with the daraśana, jñāna, cāritra and tapa omitted. The fala-śruti is only for the pañca-namaskāra (*eso pañca-namokkāro savva-pāpa-paṇāsaṇo*). Siddhasena, commenting upon Pravacana-sāroddhara, verses 78-79 dealing with the Pañca-Parameṣṭhimantra, refers to older texts like the Namāskara-valaya, where a vyākhya (explanation) of the Pañca-parameṣṭhi-Namaskāra is given.[1] As is quite obvious, the Siddha-Cakra is none else than the Namaskāra-valaya, elaborated, at a later stage, with the addition of jñāna, darśana, cāritra and tapa.

But it is certain that the diagram of Siddha-Cakra (possibly in its earlier form) was already well-known in the age of Hemacandra, even though no earlier reference to Siddha-Cakra-yantra could be traced in the extant Śvetāmbara literature for he specifically refers to it as a '*samaya-prasiddha-Cakra-viśeṣa.*'[2]

The worship of the present type of Siddha-Cakra seems to have started at a comparatively late age in Jainism as is proved by negative archæological evidence, since almost none of the available siddha-cakra diagrams in paintings and sculpture goes back to the pre-Mogul period, and also by the late date of the existing literary traditions eulogising the worship of this diagram. The mythic story of a King Śrīpāla who had been famous for his devotion to the Siddha-Cakra and who is supposed to have been rewarded for his meritorious devotion to the worship of this diagram, forms the subject matter of Siri-Sirivāla-kahā of Ratnamandira gaṇi (1362 A.D.)[1] A Gujarāti ballad known as Śrīpāla-rāsu, composed in 1738 A.D., is very popular amongst the Śvetāmbara Jainas of modern Gujarat.

Ratnamandira gaṇi describes the Siddha-Cakra yantra in every detail. His version of the yantra however, is larger than the one commonly worshipped (as in our figure 85) and comprises worship of several other Jaina deities. According to the author, the presiding deity or guardian of this mystic diagram is Śrī Vimalasvāmī, but the Nine Padas of course form a nucleus around which other deities find a place in the yantra. We have no means to ascertain that the

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[1] Pravacana-sāroddhāra. pp. 15-16.

[2] Commenting on the word Arhan, in the first sūtra of his *Śabdānuśāsana*, he writes :—सिद्धचक्रस्यादिबीजमित्यादिना पश्चादुच्यते। समयप्रसिद्धस्य चक्रविशेषस्य निरूढमभिधानम्।.....

Bṛhannyāsa,—ed by Ācārya Lāvaṇya Sūri, p. 3.

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'Siddha-Cakra' referred to by Hemacandra, noted above, had been the same as the Siddha-Cakra later described in the Siri Sirivāla-kahā of Ratnamandira gani.[1]

King Śrīpāla (Sirivāla) an ideal worshipper of the Siddha-Cakra, is said to have visited the ancient city of Śūrpāraka or Sopāraka near Bombay and Thāṇā. The place is well-known as the site of a Buddhist Stūpa and as an ancient port. Some later Jaina texts and hymns do speak of a shrine of Ṛṣabhanātha having existed here, while Vajrasvāmi, who is said to have restored the Siddha-Cakra is also known to have visited it; and four converts from the ancient port, at the hands of Vajrasena, the pupil of Vajrasvāmī, are well-known as the originators of four *kulas*, namely, Nāgendra, Candra, Nirvṛti and Vidyādhara, amongst Jaina monks.

Tantric texts like the "Namaskāra-Valaya", (as noted above) were known to Siddhasena (1248 V. S.—1181 A. D.), the commentator of Pravacana-sāroddhāra. His remarks are noteworthy in as much as he says that in works of this class is given a vyākhyā (commentary, discussion) of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi Namaskāra. This Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra is said to be the origin of all mantras (spells, charms), the essence of all the fourteen Pūrvva texts, and the wishing-tree (Kalpa-druma) for the attainment of all desired objects. Its power is great in as much as it can be used against poisons, snakes, supernatural beings like Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Yākinī and the like grahas and has the powers of Vaśya, Ākṛṣṭi, etc., over the whole world.[2]

Thus it may be inferred that the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra made up of this Pañca-Parameṣṭhi mantra was employed in the various Tantric rites—the ṣaṭ-karmas, such as Śāntika, Pauṣṭika, Vaśya, Ākarṣaṇa, Mohana and Māraṇa—at least in the eleventh century A.D., *i.e.* in a century or two preceeding the age of Siddhasena's commentary. Originally, the Siddha-Cakra or the Namaskāra-Valaya must have been employed in pure rites only, *i.e.* in the Śāntika and the Pauṣṭika. But the growing Tantric influence in India, from c. 7th century A.D. if not earlier, which resulted in the composition of various Buddhist Sādhanas, and in a similar activity in the Brahmanical Tantras, also led the Jainas not only to elaborate their pantheon, but also to introduce a number of

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[1] Also called Ratnaśekhara sūri. He was pupil of Hematilaka sūri, the pupil of Vajrasena sūri of Bṛhadgaccha. *Siri Sirivālakahā* with Avacūri of Hemacandra (the pupil of Ratnaśekhara, the author), is published in D. L. J. P.F., Bombay (1923 A.D.).

[2] It includes invocations to the 16 Vidyādevīs, the Śāsana-Suras (24-yakṣas), the Śāsana-devīs (24 yakṣiṇīs), 10 Dik-pālas the Kṣetrapāla, the 4 Pratihāras (Kumuda, Añjana etc.), the 4 Vīras, the Guru-Pādukās and so on—*Siri Sirivālakahā*, vv. 196-207.

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tantric rites and practices which were originally prohibited to Jaina monks and which were against the very principles of Jainism.

Later Digambara manuscripts of the Pañca-Namaskāra-kalpa, and Śvetāmbara manuscripts of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-kalpa are still available in the different Jaina Bhāṇḍāras. This class of small tantric texts (*kalpa*) on the Namaskāra-mantra await a special critical study.

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7. AUSPICIOUS DREAMS.[1]

When the Venerable Lord Mahāvīra descended into the womb of Devānandā, she saw fourteen dreams.[2] When he was transferred by Hariṇegameṣin to the womb Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, she saw the same set of fourteen dreams.[3] Whenever a Tīrthaṅkara descends from one of the heavens into the womb of his Mother she sees fourteen dreams, according to the Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions.[4] According to Digambara traditions, however, the Mother of every Jina sees sixteen auspicious dreams at this moment.

The fourteen dreams seen by Triśalā, are described in detail in the Kalpa-sūtra :—(1) A white elephant, large and beautiful, with four tusks and streaming with ichor. (2) A white bull surrounded by a diffusion of light, with a charming hump and horns greased at tips. (3) A sportive lion, whiter than pearls and beautiful, with flapping tail and protruding tongue. (4) The Goddess Śrī, four-armed and carrying the lotuses adorned with various ornaments, lustrated by two celestial elephants. (5) A garland of various flowers. (6) The Moon—the full-moon. (7) The red Sun. (8) A wondrous, beautiful banner, fastened to a golden staff, with a lion at the top. (9) A full-vase filled with water and lotuses, the abode of Fortune. (10) A large lake full of lotuses, swarming with bees and aquatic birds sitting beside it. (11) The Ocean of Milk, with agitated waters and full of aquatic animals. (12) The celestial palace (devavimāna), of numerous columns, hung with garlands, decorated with pictures or sculptures. (13) The jewel heap—of all sorts of jewels. (14) A smokeless fire, with flame in constant motion.

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[1] Belief in auspicious dreams is very old in India, cf. the Chāndogya Upa. V. 2.7-8—"स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समृद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात्। तदेष श्लोकः

यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति।
समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन्स्वप्ननिदर्शने॥

Such belief dates from pre-Mahāvīra epochs and the Nimitta-pāṭhakās are said to have been called by Siddhārtha to interpret the dreams seen by Triśālā, the mother of Mahāvīra. Nimittasāstra was very popular with the Ājīvikas from whom Kālakācārya mastered it in the 1st century B.C. The *Aṅgavijjā* (c. 600-A. D.) is a very important early Jaina text on Nimitta (based possibly on earlier texts) which is being recently edited by Muni Shri Puṇyavijaya.

[2] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sū. 3; Jacobi's transl. (SBE), p. 219.

[3] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sū. 31-46; Jacobi, *op. cit.*, 229-238.

[4] For a discussion on and interpretation of some of these prognostic dreams, see, Coomaraswamy, *The Conqueror's life in Jaina Paintings* J.I.S.O.A., Vol. III, No. 2, (Dec. 1935), pp. 125-144.

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Kalpa-Sūtra miniatures show representations of these dreams, either in a group, as in Brown's figure 19, or singly as in Brown's figs. 20-33, pp. 19-22. The most common type of miniature (cf, Brown's figs. 6. 18)[1] represents the mother of a Jina sleeping on a cot in the lowest panel and in the two or three panels above are shown, in different rows, smaller figures of the fourteen dreams. Representations generally confirm to the Kalpa sūtra text, and only minor differences occur, *e. g.* the Sun may be represented authropomorphically or as a circular disc.[2]

Dreams are also represented in stone reliefs in the lives of different Tīrthaṅkaras, a photo illustrated in fig. 83 shows one such set from a Jaina shrine at Kumbhāriā, N. Gujarāt.[3]

A wooden panel of these fourteen dreams, illustrated here (fig. 87), is preserved in the Shrī Paṇḍyā-gṛha at Pātaṇ, N. Gujarāt. Paintings of the dreams are also obtained on wooden book-covers,[4] or as reliefs on wooden or metal stools or platters used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines.

According to Digambara traditions, the dreams are:—(1) Airāvata the elephant of Indra, (2) The best of bulls, (3) the lion white in colour with red manes, (4) the goddess Padmā (Śrī) seated on golden lotuses and lustrated by elephants, (5) pair of garlands of best flowers, (6) the moon, (7) the sun rising from the Udayācala mountain, (8) pair of full-vases with lotuses placed on their mouths, (9) pair of fishes, (10) celestial lake, (11) agitated ocean, (12) a lofty golden lion-throne, (13) a celestial car (vimāna), (14) a palace of the king of snakes (Nāgendra-bhavana), (15) heap of jewels, (16) smokeless fire.[5]

Representations of the sixteen dreams are also popular amongst the Digambara Jainas and are often carved on door-lintels of Jaina shrines, an

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[1] For other illustrations, see, *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* figs. 73. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Boston Museum* Vol. IV, figs. 34, 13. Brown, *KSP.*, fig. 152, p. 64. *Pavitrakalpasūtra*, figs. 17, 22.

[2] Representations of Śrī amongst such miniatures, of special iconographic interest, will be treated separately in a chapter on the iconography of Śrī-Laxmī, the goddess of wealth, in my forthcoming, "Elements of Jaina Iconography".

[3] At Kharataravasahi Caumukha shrine, Ābu, they are represented on an architrave in the hall in front of the main shrine. A photograph of it will be found in तीर्थराज आबू (Gujarāti) by Muniśrī Jayantavijaya, 5th edition.

[4] In the life of Pārśvanātha, on a book-cover in the Shri Ātmārāma Jñāna-mandri Bhāṇḍāra; Baroda, collection of Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijaya. JISOA., Vol. V, pp. 2-12 ff. pl. For a reference to paintings of dreams on walls, *Nirayavalião*, 2.1. p. 51. Also see Jesalmere Citrāvali.

[5] Mahāpurāṇa (Ādipurāṇa), sarga 12, vv. 101-119, pp. 259 ff. Harivaṁśa, sarga 8, verses 58-74, pp. 160-161.

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early specimen of them is available on the door frame of a cell in the Śāntinātha temple at Khajurāho. There are some more representations of the dreams on the door-frames of different Jaina shrines at Khajurāho.

According to Jaina traditions, mothers of other Śalākāpuruṣas like the Baladevas, Vāsudevas, and Cakravartins also see a certain number of dreams at the time of conception.[1] According to Śvetāmbara traditions, the mother of a Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu) sees the following 7 dreams:—(1) Young lion (2) Padmā (Śrī) śeated on a lotus, being sprinkled with water by two elephants (3) Sun (4) a pitcher filled with water and having its mouth adorned with white lotuses (5) an ocean filled with aquatic animals etc. (6) a heap of jewels (7) smokeless fire.[2] According to the Digambaras, they are:—(1) Sun (2) Moon (3) Śrī (4) Vimāna (5) Fire (6) Celestial banner (7) Disc made of jewels.[3]

The mother of a Baladeva sees the following 4 dreams:—(1) Elephant with four tusks (2) bull (3) Moon (4) a pond filled with lotuses.[4] According to Digambara tradition, they are (1) Moon (2) elephant (3) ocean (4) Sun.[5]

The mother of a Cakravartin sees fourteen dreams like the Mother of a Tīrthaṅkara, according to Śvetāmbara tradition.[6] According to the other sect, she sees five dreams; (1) Earth, (2) Sumeru mountain, (3) Sun and Moon, (4) lake with swans and (5) Ocean with surging waves.[7]

Dreams are auspicious or inauspicious. Mahāvīra in his itinerary, before realisation of final knowledge, saw ten dreams which are describcd along with their meaning by the Sthānāṅga Sūtra.[8] Belief in dreams is an ancient superstition. It is difficult to say when the section on dreams was introduced in the life of Mahāvīra in the Kalpasūtra account, at least the detailed descriptions of

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[1] The belief is common to both sects, but the difference in number of dreams would suggest their comparatively later growth.

[2] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, parva 4, chp. 1, vv. 216-233. *Pavitrakalpasūtra.*, sū. 72 f., text, p. 27.

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, 35. vv. 11-12, Vol. II. pp. 451-52. *Padmacarita*, 25. 3. p. 506 notes a different tradition, according to which she sees (1) Lion and (2) Moon only.

[4] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, op. cit, vv. 167-179.

[5] *Harivaṁśa*, 32. 1-2; p., 412. *Padmacarita*, 25. 12-15, p. 507 gives a different tradition.

[6] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, 1. 4. vv. 883 ff. (GOS) p. 148. *Pavitrakalpasūtra* ed. by Muni Puṇyavijayaji, sū-71, text p. 26 f.

[7] *Harivaṁśa*, 32. 1-2; p. 412. *Padmacarita*, 25. 12-15, p. 507 gives a different tradition. *Mahāpurāṇa* (Ādipurāṇa), parva 15, vv. 100-101, pp. 334f.

[8] *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 10-3. sū. 750, Vol II. pp. 499 ff.

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each of the fourteen dreams seem to have been added later as shown by the analysis of Muni Puṇyavijaya[1] in his critical edition of the 'Pavitra Kalpa-Sūtra.' It may be added that the ornament *dīṇāra-mālā* (necklace or garland of Dīṇāra coins) in the description of Śrī in these dreams (Kalpa-Sūtra, sūtra 37) supports the inference that this section is added later and may be as late as the Valabhi council under Devarddhi gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa.

Belief in dreams is common to all sects. The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, in the Khaṇḍa dealing with the life of Krishṇa (adh. 77) gives a list of good dreams (with their results). The same Purāṇa, adh. 70 gives a list of such dreams seen by Akrūra. Bad dreams with their results are referred to in *ibid.*, adh. 80, similar dreams were also seen by Kaṁsa as narrated in *ibid.*, adh. 63. Accounts of good and bad dreams are also available in the Devīpurāṇa, adh. 22, Kālikāpurāṇa, adh. 87, Matsya Purāṇa, adh. 242 and so on. The science of Svapna-Śakuna was very popular in the age of Purāṇas and even medical works like the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhata, refer to such dreams in detail (in Śārīrasthāna, adh. 6).[2]

[1] Muni Shri Puṇyavijaya, in his Intro. to the *Pavitra-Kalpa-Sūtra*, p. 10, says that the detailed description of the fourteen dreams in the KS. is not referred to in the Cūrṇi of Agastya-Simha, and that it is difficult to say whether this part is genuine. According to him both the Niryukti and the Cūrṇi on the Daśāśrutaskandha (of which KS. is the eigth adhyayana) are about 1600 years old, or earlier, *i.e.* c. 350 A.D. or earlier. These remarks of the learned Muniji are further supported by the ref. to the coin Dīṇāra noted above.

[2] See, *Śabda-kalpadruma-kośa*, under *svapna*.

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8. AṢṬAMAṄGALA

The Aṣṭamaṅgalas or Eight Auspicious objects are familiar to both the sects and are known to Jaina worship from ancient times. They are :—*Svastika, Śrīvatsa, Nandyāvarta, Varddhamānaka,* (powder-flask), *Bhadrāsana* (throne, a particular type of seat), *Kalaśa* (the full-vase), *Darpaṇa* (mirror) and *Matsya* (or Matsya-yugma, pair of fish), and are often referred to in Jaina texts, including canonical works,[1] as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on Caitya-trees, platforms, painted on walls and so on.[2]

Hemacandra also notes that the eight auspicious symbols were rspresented on Bali-paṭṭas or offering stands.[3] The offering-stand is a platter with low legs, made of wood or metal, used to hold offering in temple worships. It has eight auspicious signs carved or made in high relief. Such stools, often made of wood with silver plate studded all over it, or of silver or brass, and with reliefs of the eight auspicious marks or of the dreams, are even today used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines. Often Jaina ladies prepare such signs with uncooked rice on such platters.

But the reference by Hemacandra to Balipaṭṭas with marks of eight auspicious objects is interesting since such auspicious symbols are seen on some of the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas of the Kuṣāna age, obtained from Mathurā. The Tablet set up by Acalā (fig. XI of Smith), for example, shows a line of four symbols in the upper most panel and another of eight at base. In this lower panel, the first symbol from right end, partly mutilated, was probably the Śrīvatsa. The second is Svastika, third a lotus-bud half open, fourth a pair of fish, fifth a water-jar (with a handle), sixth is either an offering of sweets or a crude representation of ratna-rāśi. The seventh is possibly the sthāpanā (a cross-stand with a mss. on it), the eighth is an inverted tri-ratna, like the so-called hill on some coins. The uppermost central rectangular panel, which contains

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[1] *Aupapātika sūtra,* sū. 31, pp. 68-69 :—*Sovatthiya (or sotthiya), Sirivaccha, nandiyāvatta, bhaddāsaṇa, Kalasa, maccha, dappaṇa, and Vaddhamāṇaka*

[2] *Triṣaṣṭi. I* (GOS), pp. 112, 190. *Mahāpurāṇa* (*Adipurāṇa*), parva 22. vv. 143, 185, 210 etc., pp. 520 ff.

cf:— तेसि णं तोरणाणं उप्पिं अट्ठट्ठ मंगलगा पण्णत्ता, तं जहा—

सोत्थिय, सिरिवच्छ, नन्दियावत्त, वद्धमाणग, भद्दासण, कलस, मच्छ, दप्पण, जाव पडिरूवा.

—*Rāyapaseṇaiyam,* ed. by Pt. Bechardas (Ahmedabad), pp. 80; also *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti,* Vol. I. p. 43.

[3] Triṣaṣṭi. I (GOS) p. 190 and note 238.

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four symbols, shows the Śrīvatsa, another type of svastika with bent ends, and two more symbols which cannot be properly identified.[1] Some of these symbols occur on other Āyāgapaṭas.[2] A much better preserved set of eight symbols, is however obtained on the Āyāgapaṭa set up by Sīhanādika (J. 249, Lucknow Museum) with inscription in characters earlier than that of the age of Kaṇiṣka.[3] Here in the lower panel are shown, the tri-ratna, the full-blown flower, the sthāpanā (is it the *bhadrāsana*?[4]) and the *maṅgala-kalaśa* (full-vase). In the pannel at the top are a pair of fish, an unidentified symbol, the śrīvatsa and the powder-flask (*vardhamānaka*).

It is thus reasonable to infer that in the Kuṣāṇa age, the set of the Aṣṭa-maṅgalas was not finally settled[5] and that the earlier tradition as obtained on these Āyāgapaṭas, especially the Āyāgapaṭa of Sīhanādika, shows a slightly different set from the one known to us. In this older tradition represented on the Āyāgapaṭas, the *nandyāvarta* and the *darpaṇa* are omitted and the full-grown lotus and another unidentified symbol are used. The Mathurā finds represent a stage anterior to the tradition recorded in the Jaina canons avail-

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1 Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XI.

2 Cf. Smith, *JS.*, pl. IX., p. 16.

3 Smith, *Ibid.*, pl. VII., p. 14.

4 Bhadrāsana is described elaborately by later texts *like the Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (c. sixth century A. D.), cf.:—

भद्रासनं नरेन्द्रस्य क्षीरवृक्षेण कारयेत्।
उच्छ्रायश्च तथा तस्य अध्यर्ध्यं तु समं भवेत्॥
हस्तत्रयं तथाविष्टं विस्तरेण तु कारयेत्।
आयामश्चास्य कर्तव्यो विस्तरेणार्धसम्मितः॥
चतुरस्रं तु कर्तव्यं राज्ञो भद्रासनं शुभम्।
नाष्टास्रं न तथा वृत्तं न च दीर्घं भृगूत्तम॥
सुवर्णरुप्यताम्रैश्च चित्रं कार्यं विशेषतः।
रत्नैः प्रशस्तैर्न तथा न रत्नप्रतिरूपकैः॥
चत्वारः पुरुषास्तत्र विन्यस्ता भृगुनन्दन।
द्विगुणाश्च तथा सिंहास्तेभ्यस्तु द्विगुणास्तथा॥
भद्रासनं तत्र भवेन्नृपस्य तलेन पूर्णं ससुखं परार्ध्यम्।
वैयघ्रचर्मास्तरणं सुखार्थं वरासनं तस्य समामनन्ति॥

Viṣṇudharmottara, 2nd khaṇḍa, 14 adh., p. 178.

5 Especially see, हर्षचरित, एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन (Hindi) by Dr. Vasudeva Śaraṇa Agrawala, p. 120, where he has referred to Aṣṭamaṅgala-mālās from Sānchī reliefs. The maṅgalakas are more than eight at Sānchī. Gradually they came to be fixed as eight.

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able to us.[1] Such facts confirm our inference that most of the texts as available today follow the edition of the Mathura council, of c. 300-313 A. D., under Ārya Skandila (*i. e.* they are post-Kuṣāṇa or late Kṣatrapa in age) and that the extant Niryuktis should naturally post-date this council.

Aṣṭamaṅgalas are represented in miniature paintings[2] of manuscripts, or in paintings on canvass of different paṭas, and in scroll paintings of the Vijñaptipatras.[3] They are often represented as decorative motifs, either separately or in groups, on different parts of a temple, especially on architraves or door-lintels. Small platters of these aṣṭamaṅgalas are also dedicated in Jaina temples and often worshipped along with other objects (fig. 60, from a Jaina shrine in Baroda).

The aṣṭamaṅgalas are often worshipped in Jaina rites. The Ācāra-Dinakara[4] fortunately explains the significance of these symbols, which however, may or may not represent the original conceptions. The Kalaśa or the full-vase, for example, according to this text, is worshipped as a symbol for the Jina as he is verily like a kalaśa in his family. The mirror is for seeing one's true self; the bhadrāsana is worshipped as it is sanctified by the feet of the Blessed Lord, the Vardhamānaka is suggestive of increase of wealth, fame, merit etc., due to the grace of the Lord. It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina, in the form of the Śrīvatsa—mark on his chest. Svastika, according to this text, signifies svasti, that is, Śānti or peace. Nandyāvarta (diagram) with its nine points stands for the nine nidhis (treasures). The pair of fish is the symbol of Cupid's banners come to worship the Jina after the defeat of the god of Love.

The Digambara sect gives the following set of aṣṭamaṅgalas:—(1) *Bhṛṅgāra* (a type of vessel), (2) *Kalaśa*—the full-vase, (3) *Darpaṇa*—the mirror, (4) *Cāmara*—the fly-whisk, (5) *Dhvaja*—the banner, (6) *Vyajana*—the fan, (7) *Chatra*—the Umbrella and (8) *Supratiṣṭha*—a seat.[5]

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[1] It is interesting to note that, on a red sand-stone umbrella (c. 2nd cent. A. D.), from Mathurā, the following eight auspicious symbols are carved:—(1) Nandipada (same as what is called tri-ratna above), (2) Matsya-yugma, (3) Svastika, (4) Puṣpa-dāma, (5) Pūrṇa-ghaṭa, (6) Ratna-pātra, (7) Śrivatsa, (8) Śaṅkha-nidhi..... "*A new Stone Umbrella from Mathurā*", by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XX (1947), pp. 65-67. For the Jaina evidence & description of these umbrellas, from Praśṇavyākaraṇa sūtra, see, *A Further Note On Stone Umbrellas from Mathurā*," Shah U. P., J. U. P. H. S., Vol XXIV.

[2] *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, figs. 82, 59. Moticandra, *Jaina Miniature Paintings in W. India.*

[3] For illustration, see, Johnson, transl. of *Triṣaṣṭi*. I. (GOS.), pl. IV.

[4] *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 197-198.

[5] *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.738, Vol. I. p. 236.

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Some of these symbols, like the svastika, are of very ancient origin, common to different ancient civilizations and races of the world, and their exact significance is not always easy to comprehend. The full-vase or the Pūrṇa-Kalas'a of Vedic literature, is the Indian symbol of fullness of life, of plenty, of immortality.[1]

Belief in auspicious objects is very old, common to all sects. Agrawala has already referred to *Maṅgala-mālā* amongst Sāñchī reliefs.[2] The Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva, 82. 20-22, mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious when starting for battle, amongst which auspicious maidens are also mentioned.[3] The Vāmana-Purāṇa, 14. 35-36 mentions several objects which are auspicious. The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa also gives lists of animate and inanimate objects regarded as auspicious.[4] Belief in maṅgalas and maṅgala-dravyas is also known to the Rāmāyaṇa.[5]

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[1] The Full-jar has been discussed by Dr. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, part II. pp. 61-64; by Dr. Agrawala, *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-6 ff. The two eyes associated with the maṅgala-kalaśa in Jaina miniatures, are said by Wilhelm Huttemann (*Miniature Zum Jina caritra, Bassler-Archin, Vol. 4,* (1914), pp. 47-77) to symbolize clairvoyant knowledge which sees through uttermost limits. Brown (*KSP.*, p. 12, n.s.) suggests that the association of eyes with the vessel of plenty (clouds) may indicate a vestigial representation of the sun, which sees all and knows all (cf. *Atharva Veda*, 19.53.3)

The Vardhamānaka and Śrīvatsa symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy, *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.* (*1927-28*), pp. 181-182 and by Johnson E.H., *J.R.A.S.* 1931, pp. 558 f. *Ibid.*, 1932, pp. 393 ff. For Svastika, see Brown, W.N., *The Svastika.*

[2] Agrawala, V. S., हर्षचरित, एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन, p. 120.

[3] Also see, Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. p. 511. He cites the following verse from a *Śaunaka-kārikā* (ms. Bombay University Library, Folio 22b) which speaks of eight auspicious objects:—

दर्पणः पूर्णकलशः कन्या सुमनसोऽक्षताः ।
दीपमाला ध्वजा लाजा सम्प्रोक्तं चाष्टमङ्गलम् ॥

[4] Cf. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa, adhyāya 16 and Kriṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa, adhyāya 70, both quoted by *Śabdakalpadruma*, III. p. 564.

The *Śabdakalpadruma*, I. p. 148 quotes the following:—

मृगराजो वृषो नागः कलशो व्यजनं तथा ।
वैजयन्ती तथा भेरी दीप इत्यष्टमङ्गलम् ॥ इति वृहन्नन्दिकेश्वरपुराणे दुर्गोत्सवपद्धतौ.

Also, लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणो गौर्हुताशनः ।
हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाऽष्टमः ॥ इति शुद्धितत्त्वम् .

[5] cf. मङ्गलैरभिषिञ्चस्व तत्र त्वं व्यापृतो भव । Rāmāyaṇa, II. 23. 29.

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9. STHĀPANĀ AND OTHER SYMBOLS

Sthāpanā or *Sthāpanācārya* is a symbolic representation of his ācārya or teacher which a Jaina monk keeps in front while giving a discourse. It marks the presence of the elder, used as a corrective witness, a precaution against misinterpretation, but especially as a mark of reverence to the teacher. Literally it means installation of the (figure or symbol) of the ācārya, when he is not personally present.[1]

It is a crossed wooden stand, made of two or more crossed sticks which can be folded and carried easily. The sticks are tied with a string in the centre and when the stand is placed in position, a nice piece of cloth, often a costly, ornamental one is placed as a cover on its top. Under it were often placed *akṣa* and *varāṭaka*. A scripture was sometimes placed on it or used as a sthāpanā. The sticks are often made of ivory or sandalwood with beautiful carvings at ends. The sthāpanā is an old practice amongst monks of both the sects and

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[1] Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa (c. 500-600 A. D.) explains it as :—

गुरुविरहम्मि य ठवणा गुरुवएसोवदंसणत्थं च ।
जिणविरहम्मि व जिणबिंबसेवणाऽमन्तणं सहलं ॥

—*Viśeṣāvaśyaka-mahābhāṣya.*

Devendrasūri in his *Saṃghācāra-ṭikā*, in the section; Guruvandana-bhāṣya, says :—

गुरुगुणजुत्तं तु गुरुं ठाविजा अहव तत्थ अक्खाइं ।
अहवा नाणाइतिअं ठविज सक्ख-गुरु-अभावे ॥ २८ ॥

The following from *Piṇḍaniryukti* explains the Sthāpanā :—

तं ठिंति नामपिंडं ठवणापिंडं अओ वोच्छं ॥ ६ ॥ p. 3.
अक्खे वराडए वा कट्ठे पुत्थे व चित्त कम्मे वा ।
सब्भावमसब्भावं ठवणापिंडं वियाणाहि ॥ ७ ॥ p. 6.

Commentary of मलयगिरि—" ....स्थाप्यमानस्येन्द्रादेरनुरूपाङ्गोपाङ्गचिह्नवाहनप्रहरणादिपरिकररूपो य आकारविशेषो यद्दर्शनात्साक्षाद्विद्यमान इवेन्द्रादिर्लक्ष्यते स सद्भावः, तदभावोऽसद्भावः, तत्र सद्भावमसद्भावं चाश्रित्य 'अक्षे' चन्दनके 'कपर्दे' वराटके वाशब्दोऽक्षुल्लीयकादिसमुच्चयार्थः, उभयत्रापि च जातावेकवचनं, तथा 'काष्ठे' दारुणि 'पुस्ते' ढिउल्लिकादौ, वाशब्दो लेप्यपाषाणसमुच्चये, चित्रकर्मणि वा या पिण्डस्य स्थापना साऽक्षादिः काष्ठादिष्वाकारविशेषो वा पिण्डत्वेन स्थाप्यमानः स्थापना पिण्डः..... ।

इक्को उ असब्भावे तिण्हं ठवणा उ होइ सब्भावे ।
चित्तेसु असब्भावे दारुअलेप्पोवले सियरो ॥ ७ ॥ (भाष्यगाथा)

—*Piṇḍaniryukti* (DLPF. No. 44, A. D. 1918), pp. 3-7.

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can be seen on stone sculptures also, at Deogoḍh (fig. 43), Ābu, Kumbhāriā and other places. Whether the motif existed at Mathurā, Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, or not is not known, but the symbol preceding the maṅgala-kalaśa in the lower panel of the Āyāgapaṭṭa of Sīhavāṇika (Coomaraswamy, HIIA, fig. 70) comes very near this conception. (However, it is equally probable that it represented the bhadrāsana).

Sthāpanā is, therefore, a pretty old practice, referred to by Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa as quoted above, and by the Anuyogadvāracūrṇi, which mentions the accessories for a sādhu in the practice of dharma; they are: ṭhavaṇā (sthāpanā), muhapatti (mukhapaṭṭikā), daṇḍa-paunchaṇam (daṇḍa-proñchanaka) and javamālia (japamālikā). The sthāpanā is for the practice of the virtue of vinaya or showing respect to and obedience to the elders.

The *mukhapaṭṭikā*, a piece of cloth held in front of the mouth by a Jaina monk while speaking, is a symbol of saṁyama or control of speech and also is understood as prescribed for preventing insects from entering the mouth and being killed.[1] The Mukhapaṭṭikā, or a month-piece, is a very ancient Jaina practice used by Gautama, the gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra.[2] The Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya prescribes its size,[3] which is equal to sixteen aṅgulas and is then folded so as to appear as a small square piece to be held in front of the mouth.

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[1] Discussed in *Pañcavastu prakaraṇa*, Yatidinacaryā; *Oghaniryuktivṛtti*, etc., where the following gāthā is usually quoted :—

संपाइमरयरेणुपमज्जणठ्ठा वयंति मुहपत्तिं ।
नासं मुहं च बंधइ, तीए वसहिं पमज्जंतो ॥

[2] Vivāgasuyam, I adhyayana.

[3] चउरंगुलं विहत्थी एयं मुहणंतगस्स उ पमाणं ।
बितीयं पि य पमाणं मुहप्पमाणेण कायव्वं ॥

—Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya, Vol. 4, v. 3982.

Cf. *Piṇḍaniryukti* (DLPF. no. 44, Bombay, A.D. 1918) with comm. of Malayagiri, p. 13 :—

पायस्स पडोयारो दुनिसिज्ज तिपट्ट पोत्ति रयहरणं ।
एए उ न वीसामे जयणा संकामणा धुवणं ॥ २८ ॥

Comm :—प्रत्यवतार्यते पात्रमस्मिन्निति प्रत्यवतारः—उपकरणं पात्रस्य प्रत्यवतारः-पात्रवर्जः पात्रनिर्योगः षड्विधः, तथा रजोहरणस्य सक्ते द्वे निषद्ये, तद्यथा—बाह्या अभ्यन्तरा च, इह सम्प्रति दशिकामिः सह या दशिडका क्रियते सा सूत्रनीत्या केवलैव भवति न सदशिका, तस्या निषद्यात्रयं, तत्र या दशिडकाया उपरि एकहस्तप्रमाणायामा तिर्यग्वेष्टकत्रयपृथुत्वा कम्बलीखण्डरूपा सा आद्या निषद्या, तिर्यग् बहुभिर्वेष्टकैरावेष्टयन्ती किञ्चिदधिकहस्तप्रमाणायामा हस्तप्रमाणमात्रपृथुत्वा वस्त्रमयी निषद्या सा अभ्यन्तरा निषद्योच्यते, तृतीया तु तस्या एवाभ्यन्तरनिषद्यायास्तिर्यग्वेष्टकान् कुर्वती चतुरङ्गुलाधिकैकहस्तमाना चतुरस्रा कम्बलमयी भवति, सा चोपवेशनोपकारित्वादधुना पादप्रोञ्छनकमिति रूढा, सा बाह्या निषद्येत्य-

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The *daṇḍaproñchanaka* is so called because it is a broom with a stick, it is also known as a *rajoharaṇa* as it is used to sweep dust particles and small living insects.[1] Haribhadra says that it is 32 aṅgulas in length of which the stick is 24 aṅgulas and the front part (gucchā) of the remaining aṅgulas is made of twisted (strings of) fibres of wool. According to the Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra it was made of any one of the following five fibres—wool, hair of camel, jute (śāṇaka), fibres of valkala or strings prepared by twisting the muñja grass.

The *japamālikā* is the rosary of beads of conch, sandal, corals, crystals, gems, gold or silver.

The mukhapaṭṭikā, rajoharaṇa and the rosary carried by a Jaina monk can be seen in fig. 48 which is a sculpture of Nanna-sūri, installed in V. S. 1393, now in worship in a shrine at Sādaḍi in Rājasthāna. The rajoharaṇa is shown behind the head of the monk in this sculpture, but he usually carries it in his hand, while walking.

Symbols like the Wheel of Law (*Dharma-cakra*) need not be discussed here. Representations of the Wheel of Law, on Jaina pedestals from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā show that the Wheel was placed on a platform or a pillar, often with the rim to front, and worshipped on both sides by the members of the Saṁgha (śrāvaka, śrāvikā, sādhu and sādhvī). A Wheel on a pillar is also shown on one of the Āyāgapaṭas discussed above. In later worship, it is placed in the centre of pedestals, but flanked by a deer on each side. Rarely the Wheel was separately installed as an object of worship in Jaina shrines. This is inferred from an early bronze of a Wheel, illustrated in fig. 15, obtained along with a hoard of Jaina bronzes from Chausā, near Buxur in Bihar, and now preserved in the Patna museum. The *cakra* is assignable to late Kuṣāṇa age. A similar separate a bronze of a *Caitya-vṛkṣa* was also obtained in this hoard.

It may be remembered that, only the *Sthāpanā* and the *Dharma-cakra* (and the *Caitya-vṛkṣa*), from the symbols noted above, obtain worship in Jaina shrines. The rajoharaṇa or the rosary are here incidentally discussed, since the sthāpanā is intimately associated with Jaina monks who keep these other accessories.

मिधीयते, मिलितं च निषद्यात्रयं दण्डिकासहितं रजोहरणमुच्यते, ततो रजोहरणस्य सक्ते द्वे निषद्ये इति न विरूध्यते, तथा त्रयः पट्टाः तद्यथा—संस्तारकपट्टः, उत्तरपट्टः, चोलपट्टश्च, एते च सुप्रतीताः, तथा 'पोत्ति 'त्ति मुखपोतिका, मुखपिधानाय पोतं—वस्त्रं मुखपोतं मुखपोतमेव ह्रस्वं चतुरङ्गुलाधिकवित-स्तिमात्रप्रमाणत्वात् मुखपोतिका, मुखवस्त्रिकेत्यर्थः .....।

[1] Cf.:—हरइ रयं जीवाणं वज्झं अब्भंतरं च जं तेणं।
रयहरणं ति पवुच्चइ कारणकज्जोवयाराओ ॥ also, Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya, v.3674.

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10 AṢṬĀPADA, SAMMETA-ŚIKHARA AND PAÑCA-MERU

On Aṣṭāpada mountain Ṛṣabhadeva attained his nirvāṇa. Near his cremation-ground Bharata erected a temple, of jewelled slabs, named Siṁhaniṣadyā, with statues of the Śāśvata-Jinas as also the twenty-four Jinas of this age. Bharata also installed statues of his ninety-nine brothers who had obtained Nirvāṇa, on this mountain, along with Ṛṣabhanātha. Moreover, he placed a statue of himself listening attentively like a faithful devotee. Bharata raised the Blesssed One's (Ṛṣabha's) Stūpa and those of his 99 brothers outside the shrine. In order to save these from future damage at the hands of mortals, he placed mechanical iron guardsmen; cutting off the projections of the mountain, he made it steep and straight, and impossible for men to climb. He then made eight (*aṣṭa*) steps (*pada*) around it in the form of terraces impossible for men to cross and each step one yojana apart from the next one. From that time the mountain was called Aṣṭāpada. Among the people it was known as 'Harādri' 'Kailāsa,' and Sphaṭikādri.[1]

Such is the origin of the name of the mount Aṣṭāpada according to Hemacandra. The Vasudevahiṇḍi[2] tells us how Aṣṭāpada came to be regarded as a tīrtha and says that here Bharata erected stūpas and shrine, and installed images therein when Ṛṣabha obtained nirvāṇa on this mount with a thousand monks. The text does not give any explanation of the name Aṣṭāpada. Aṣṭapada is an old Jaina tīrtha since it is referred to by the Jambudvīpa-prajñapti[3] and the Âcārāṅga-Niryukti.[4]

Gautama, the first Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra, was told by his Master that whoever is able to reach the top of this mountain and worship the Caityas thereon obtains emancipation. He, therefore, with his supernatural power, climbed it like a flash of light. Some tāpasas (Brahmanical monks!) were attempting to do so and could not go beyond the third terrace. At the sight of Gautama, they got enlightenment and obtained liberation. Gautama reached the top and, entering the Siṁhaniṣadyā-Caitya by the South gate, he

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[1] *Triṣaṣṭi*, (GOS.) I., pp. 358-370; *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, IV. 94.

[2] *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p. 301. Gods are said to have created on the site of Ṛṣabha's Nirvāṇa on Aṣṭāpada, three stūpas of jewels, see Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, sūtra 33.

[3] *Jambu., op. cit.*

[4] Cf.:—अट्ठावयमुज्जिते गयग्गपद धम्मचक्के य।
पासरहावत्तनगं चमरुप्पायं च वंदामि॥
—*Ācārāṅga-Niryukti.*

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first saw images of the four Jinas beginning with Sambhava, and worshipped them. At the West-entrance he worshipped the eight Tīrthaṅkaras beginning with Supārśva, entering by the North gate he could worship the ten Jinas beginning with Dharmanātha. From the Eastern doorway of the shrine, he worshipped the first two Jinas, Ṛṣabha and Ajitanātha.[1]

Thus it will be seen that the Simhaniṣadyā is a Caumukha shrine with four doorways and having in the centre a platform on which the Jinas are represented in the order described above and worshipped by Gautama. In Śvetāmbara Jaina temples, sometimes, a cell is dedicated to this Aṣṭāpada represented in the way shown above. A representation of Aṣṭāpada of this type, with the Gautama shown climbing, and the tāpasas on the way, is seen in a shrine on the mount Śatruñjaya in Saurāṣṭra. Smaller representations, only of the Jinas on four sides of a pīṭha, arranged in the above order, are more common, one such may be seen in a Jaina shrine at Surat. All these are later mediaeval representations while earlier ones are not traced hitherto though it may be inferred that Citra-paṭas of the tīrthas like Śatruñjaya and Aṣṭāpada might have been in use even before, since the avacūri on samavasaraṇa-stava refers at least to the paṭas of the samavasaraṇa structure.

The Digambara sect also believes that Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvāṇa on this mountain and that Bharata erected a memorial shrine on the cremation ground. But such representations—plaques, paintings or sculptures—are not yet traced, though a proper search is likely to disclose some kind of representation of the Aṣṭāpada amongst the Digambaras.

Similarly, representations of Sammeta-Śikhara are also worshipped in Jaina shrines, a famous example of which is available in the triple-Jaina shrine built by Vastupāla-Tejapāla on Mount Girnār. Such representations are known as 'avatāra' or 'uddhāra' of a particular tīrtha in Śvetambara Jaina terminology. A small plaque, representing "avatāra" of the two tīrthas of Satruñjaya and Girnār, now in worship in a shrine at Varkhāṇā in Rājasthān, is illustrated in figure 59.

Representations of Pañca-Meru mountains of different dvīpas, showing a Siddhāyatana (suggested by a four-fold Jina image) on each tier, one above the other (in five tiers) and surmounted by a finial, are more common amongst the Digambaras. One such Pañca-Meru is also obtained in a Śvetāmbara shrine, in the Hastiśālā of the Lūṇa-vasahī Mt. Ābu. The five Merus are Sudarśana in the midst of Jambudvīpa, Vijaya in eastern Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Acala in

[1] *Aṣṭāpada-giri-kalpa*, by Jinaprabha sūri, pub. in the *Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa*, pp. 91-93. Also see, *Ibid.*, p. 31 for an *Aṣṭāpadamahātīrthakalpa* by Dharmaghoṣa sūri. *Abhidhāna-Rajendra-Kośa*, Vol. I on अष्टापद.

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western Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Mandara in eastern Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa and Vidyunmāli in the western Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa. According to the Digambara belief, in all there are 80 siddhāyatanas (eternal shrines or shrines of siddhas) on the five Merus. A Digambara Pañca-Meru bronze, installed in V. S. 1514 (= 1456 A.D.), now in worship in a shrine in Surat, is illustrated here in fig. 78.

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11. NANDIŚVARA-DVĪPA

Nandīśvara-dvīpa is known to both the sects. It is the last of the numerous concentric island-continents of Jaina cosmography, the first or the central one being the Jambū-dvīpa. The Nandīśvara is a land of delight of the gods with gardens of manifold designs, adorned and honoured by the visits of gods devoted to the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In its central parts are the four Añjana mountains of black colour, situated in the four directions—Devaramaṇa in the east, Nityodyota in the south, Svayamprabha in the west, and Ramaṇīya in the north. On their tops are temples of the Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras), one hundred yojanas long, half as wide and seventy yojanas high, each shrine having four doors. Within the temples are jewelled platforms, sixteen yojanas long and wide, and eight yojanas high. On the platforms (*maṇipīṭhaka*) are daises (*devacchandaka*) of jewel whose length and width exceed that of the platforms and on whom are one hundred and eight eternal statues (*Śāśvata-bimba*) each of the four Eternal Arhats (*Śāśvata-Jina*) named *Ṛṣabha, Varddhamāna, Candrānana* and *Vāriṣeṇa* in the paryaṅka-posture, made of jewels, attended each by a beautiful retinue consisting of two Nāgas, two Yakṣas, two Bhūtas and two pitcher-carriers while behind each statue is a figure of an umbrella-bearer. On the daises are incense-burners, wreaths, bells, the eight auspicious marks, banners, festoons, baskets, boxes and seats as well as sixteen ornaments such as full pitchers etc.

There are gleaming entrance-pavilions (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of the size of temples, theatre-pavilions (*prekṣā-maṇḍapa*), arenas (*akṣavāṭaka*), jewelled platforms, beautiful stūpas, and statues, fair caitya-trees, indradhvajas and divine lotus-lakes in succession.

In the four directions from each of the Añjana Mountains there are big square lotus-lakes, Nandiseṇa, Amogha, Gostupa etc., and beyond them are great gardens named Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Cūta. Within the sixteen lotus-lakes are the crystal Dadhimukha mountains, each having a Śāśvata-Jinālaya with images of Śāśvata-Jinas described above. Between each two lakes are two Ratikara mountains making a total of thirty-two Ratikara moun-

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[1] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I (GOS. Vol. LI), pp. 395-397; *Triṣaṣṭi.* parvas II-III (GOS. Vol. LXXVII), pp. 120 ff.; *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, sarga 5, vv. 647-685, pp. 122-124; *Trilokasāra* of Nemicandra, vv. 960 ff. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 253 ff; Ramacandran, T.N, *Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples*, pp. 181; also see, *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 4.2. sū. 307, Vol. I, pp. 229 ff; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 397 f.

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tains. These mountains agian have thirty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas on them. This makes a total of fifty-two such Eternal Temples of the Arhats on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa. Here and elsewhere on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa Indra and other gods celebrate eight-days' festival every year on different holy (parva) days.

Works on cosmography like the Laghukṣetrasamāsa of Ratnaśekhara expressly state that there are fifty-two Śāśvata-Caityālayas, thirteen in each of the four directions, on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.[1] A diagrammatic representation of it generally shows in a circle, a group of thirteen miniature shrines in each direction, with a mountain in the centre. This does not seem to be a faithful representation of the description obtained in works on cosmography since the central mountain also has Śāśvata-Jinālayas on it.[2]

In various temples and palaces of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, gods together with their retinue, celebrate the *Aṣṭāhnika-mahotsava* (eight-days' festival) on holy days of the holy Arhats. After celebrating the *Kalyāṇaka-ceremony* (or the festival of any of the five chief events in the life of every Jina) gods retire to this dvīpa, worship the caityas thereon and then return to their respective abodes.[3]

Plaques or paṭas representing the 52 shrines on the Nandīśvara are very popular amongst both the sects. The Digambaras represent 52 small figures of the Jinas (suggesting 52 shrines) on a four-tiered platform or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced, as illustrated by T. N. Ramchandran in his Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples, pl. xxxi. figs. 3-4, p. 181. The Śvetāmbaras represent 52 miniature shrines in four groups of thirteen each, carved in relief on a stone plaque, and arranged in different artistic ways. A beautiful Śvetāmbara plaque worshipped in the famous Caumukha shrine at Rāṇakpur is illustrated in Fig. 89 (also see, JISOA., Vol. IX. (1941), pl. V, p. 48). Here the Jinālayas are grouped in a beautiful geometric pattern while the intervening spaces at four ends are filled with representations of

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[1] Cf. तत्तो दुगुणपमाणा चउदारा थुत्तवरिणअसरूवे।
णंदिसरि वावन्ना चउ कुंडलि रुअगि चत्तारि ॥ २५८ ॥
Laghu-Kṣetrasamāsa, pp. 418 ff.

[2] Also see, *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, 3.2. sū. 183, pp. 356 for an early account of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.

[3] Cf. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 151; *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, I. 2. sū. 33, p. 158; *Triṣaṣṭi*. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 f.; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
Cf. :—फाल्गुनाष्टाह्निकाद्येषु प्रतिवर्षं तु पर्वसु।
शक्राद्याः कुर्वते पूजां गीर्वाणास्तेषु वेश्मसु ॥ *Harivaṁśa*, p. 124, v. 680.

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Caitya-trees, with worshippers near their roots.[1] Another paṭa of this dvīpa, installed by one Dhāndhala in V. S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) is preserved in a cell in the main shrine on Mt. Girnār, but the number of shrines on the plaque exceeds the usual figure of 52. The first paṭa does not seem to be a correct representation of the position of the Śāśvata-Caityālayas according to their geographical positions in the dvīpa. Both the plaques are not representation of the Nandīśvaradvīpa as such, but are rather paṭas of the Śāśvata-Caityālayas only on the dvīpa, and omit representations of lakes, palaces, etc., on the island.

The Nandīśvara-dvīpa has been held very sacred by both the sects who install stone and metal sculptures or plaques of it in Jaina shrines. The subject presents scope of showing varieties for the artist and paintings of the same were not unknown.

Ramachandran has published a metal sculpture of the N-dvīpa,[2] pyramidal in shape, rising in six tiers with a finial top. Thirteen Jinas are shown as sitting in padmāsana on each side. He has also published a bigger stone sculpture[3] of the N-dvīpa, shaped like a vimāna, superimposed on a square base, the sides of which reveal Jinas (Siddhas) seated in meditation. The Vimāna has on each side a niche surmounted by an arch with a figure of a Jina sitting in it. A finial surmounts the whole, giving it a dignified appearance of a Jina-bhavana. Fig. 63 illustrated here represents a modern bronze of N-dvīpa in worship in a Digambara shrine in Kolhapur. Since the N-dvīpa, with its 52 Śāśvata-Jinālayas, has been a favourite resort of gods for festivals[4] and worship, it has naturally become a favourite symbol of worship of the Eternal images, by the pious śrāvakas and śrāvikās. The figure 52 became so popular that a group of smaller cells, 52 in number, were often erected round a main shrine. One of the penances practised by the pious Jainas is known as Nandīśvara-(pankti) vrata[5] in the Digambara tradition. A similar N-tapa practised by the Śvetāmbaras along with pūjā of the Nandīśvara-paṭa is referred to by the Pravacana-sāroddhāra.[6]

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[1] Such relief-plaques can be classed as *Citra-Paṭas*, see Shah U. P., *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. IX. (1941), p. 48.

[2] *Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples*, p. 181, pl. XXI, Fig. 3.

[3] Ramacandran, *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI, Fig. 4., p. 181.

[4] *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 87, 153, 171, 236. According to Digambara traditions, the gods celebrate them in the last week of the months of Kārttika, Fālguna, and Āṣāḍha every year, see, *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava*, II, p. 512.

[5] *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava*, Vol. II. p. 512.

[6] *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, gāthā 1552 and commentary.

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APPENDIX

Note on Stūpa, Samavasaraṇa and Ziggurat

On pp. 56-57, and p. 93, it is suggested that the Jaina "Samavasaraṇa is based upon the architecture of a Stūpa which latter has for its prototype that of the Ziggurat with three or more tiers".

The tiered-shrines, illustrated by Coomaraswamy, *History af Indian and Indonesian Art*, figures 69, 69A, may be compared with the Samavasaraṇa illustrated in fig. 76 and the Pañca-Meru, fig. 78. It may be remembered that the Samavasaraṇa is not always circular. It is either square or circular.

On p. 56, I have further said that such tiered shrines have for their basis the conception of *Jārūka* or Ziggurat (or Aiḍūka) discussed by Dr. Agrawala.

The Ziggurat is a peculiar feature of Sumerian architecture which can be traced back, according to Woolley, to the chalcolithic Al'Ubaid period.[1]

In form the Ziggurat is a stepped pyramid having three stages. The lowest stage measures about 200 ft. long × 150 ft. wide × 50 ft. high, at Ur-Nammu.[2] "From this rose the upper stages, each smaller than the one below, leaving broad passages along the main sides and wider terraces at either end. On the topmost stage stood the little one-roomed shrine of the Moon-God.... On three sides the walls (of this Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu) rose to the level of the first terrace, but on the north-east face fronting the Nannar temple was the approach to the shrine. Three brick stairways, each of a hundred steps, led upwards, one projecting out at right angles from the building, two leaning against its wall, and all converging in a great gateway between the first and the second terrace...."[3]

Of the Ziggurat of Babylon (The Tower of Babel), only the ground-plan survives, but being almost identical with that of Ur, and also built by Ur-

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[1] Woolley, Sir Leonard, *Excavations at Ur*, (London, 1954), p. 125. For a front view of the Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu with the triple stairs in front, see, *Ibid*, pl. 18, and p. 130, fig. 7, conjectural reconstruction of the same Ziggurat, and p. 218, fig. 18 for a reconstruction of the Ziggurat of Nabonidus.

According to Frankfort and others, no Ziggurat belonging to the third millenium B.C. is known to us, and that from the Third Dynasty of Ur onwards, Ziggurats occur regularly, see, Frankfort, Henri, *The Art and Architecture of the Orient*, (London 1954), p. 236, n. 19.

[2] Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[3] Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131, and fig. 7, also, pl. 18b.

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Nammu, it had possibly the same elevation.[1] The Tower of Babel, according to the account of Herodotus, had seven terraces, though originally it had only two or three of them.[2]

Representations of two-staged Ziggurats, on seals, are not unknown in the Protoliterate period at Warka.[3] As shown by Frankfort even the Early Dynastic shrines stood on plinths or platforms and that the Early Dynastic seals showing the building of a high temple may represent platforms as well as Ziggurats.[4]

The temple tower or the Ziggurat was a sacred structure. The names of some of them, known in later times, indicate that they were intended, not merely to resemble, but to be *mountains*. The Ziggurat of the storm god Enlil was called, " House of the Mountain, Mountain of the Storm, Bond between Earth and Heaven ". In Mesopotamia, " mountain was a religious concept of many-sided significance. It stood for the whole earth, and within it, therefore were concentrated the mysterious powers of life which bring forth vegetation in spring and autumn, and carry water to dry river beds.... The mountain, then, was the habitual setting in which the superhuman became manifest, and the Sumerian, in erecting their Ziggurats with immense common effort, created conditions under which communication with the divine became possible. "[5]

The Ziggurat was also the Mount of the Dead. As Frankfort puts it, " In Mesopotamia, the mountain is the place where the mysterious potency of the Earth, and hence of natural life, is concentrated.... As personifications of natural life they were thought to be incapacitated during the Mesopotamian summer, which is a scourge destroying vegetation utterly exhausting man and beast. The myths express this by saying that the God dies or that he is kept captive in the mountain. From the mountain he comes forth at the new year when nature revives. Hence the Mountain is also the Land of the Dead. "[6]

In Mesopotamia, although not all sanctuaries included a temple tower or Ziggurat, all were given a token elevation above the soil. A temple at Al' Uqair, which was contemporary with the temple on the Anu-Ziggurat at Warka, stood on a platform but fifteen feet high and, like the latter, rose in two

[1] For structures beside these Ziggurats, see, Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 134. On the terraces of the Ziggurats were 'hanging gardens' as well.

[2] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[3] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[4] Frankfort, *op.cit*, p. 236, n. 19.

[5] Frankfort, *Ibid.*, p. 6; also, Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[6] Frankfort Henri, *The Birth of Civilisation in the Near East* (London, 1951), pp. 54-55.

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distinct stages. After discussing the characteristics of the two Protoliterate shrines at Warka and Al'Uqair, Frankfort writes: "The significance of the Ziggurat was symbolical, and the symbolism could be expressed in more than one way. The same idea, which was unequivocally expressed in a high artificial mountain, could also be rendered by a mere platform a few feet high. One might call the platform an abbreviation of the Ziggurat.... in fact, it is more probable, that the platform of the earliest temples at Eridu, of the Al 'Ubaid Period, already represented the sacred mountain."[1]

Thus this Ziggurat or the peculiar raised platform is suggestive of a mountain which symbolises in theology the fountain-head of all life and the refuge of it at death.

Ziggurats were in existence in Mesopotamia at least upto 539 B.C. when the Persians under Cyrus defeated Nabonidus of Babylon. The Ziggurats, gradually ruined, would have been known to the people for a few centuries more, especially to the Persian artists.

In the sixth and the following centuries, the Achaemenian Dynasty developed a powerful empire which included parts of India, and Mesopotamian region. It was through this linking of India and Mesopotamia through Iran that much influence of the latter country could have come to India. But India's contact with Sumer are much older and possibly were continuous at least upto the age of the Buddhist *Bavēru Jātaka*, which latter suggests direct contacts with Babylon.[2] The discovery of the Assyrian gems and godlings from Taxila also suggests contacts between the two countries. This is further supported by the strong Aramaic influence of the clerks of the Persian court which led to the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script.

Thus it would not seem impossible if even a distant relation between the Ziggurat, the Stūpa and Samavasarana, obvious in plan and elevation, is postulated.

To return to the Stūpa architecture in India: The stūpas are essentially relic structures in honour of the dead—the Holy or the Great. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, gives one of the earliest Indian literary reference to relic structures or mounds. The passage is as under:—

"They now do what is auspicious for him. They now prepare a burial place (*smaśāna*) for him to serve him either as a house or a monument.

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[1] Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Orient*, p. 7.

[2] Especially see, Coomaraswamy's remarks under "Early Asiatic" in his *HIIA.*, pp. 11-14, giving details of the common heritage of Early Asiatic Cultures.

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Four-cornered (is the sepulchral mound). Now the Devas and the Asuras, both of them sprung up from Prājapati, were contending in the (four) regions (quarters). The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and, being regionless, they were overcome, wherefore, the people who are godly make their burial places four-cornered, whilst those who are of the Asura nature, the Easterners and others (make them) round, for they (the gods) drove them out from the regions." (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, translated by Julius Eggling in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 44, pp. 421, 424).

It is, therefore, quite reasonable to expect the stūpas of the heterodox Buddhist and Jaina sects both of which originated in the land of the "Āsuryah Prācyāh" of the Śatapatha, as being round in plan. The Daiva or Brahmanical funeral relics should be square in plan. Most of the Buddhist stūpas are round while the Hindus even today raise small square terraced structures (with or without a *tulasī*-plant grown on top) over the ashes of the followers of the Brahmanical cult.

A later word, synonymous with a funeral relic structure or stūpa, is Aiḍūka, explained by the author of Amarakośa and Hemacandra as one having, inside it, a bone-relic.

Now the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, 190.65 and 67 says that "The men in the decadent age of Kali will forsake their own gods and worship the *eḍūkas* (65) and the earth will be dotted over with *eḍūka* monuments in place of temples of gods (67). Obviously, the text here refers to stūpas (Aiḍūkas) of the non-Brahmanical cults.

According to a variant reading from the Southern Recension, recorded in the Critical Edition of the MBH., the reading is *jālūka* in place of *eḍūka*. Dr. Agrawala[1] has shown that this *jālūka* or *jārūka* was obviously derived from the Ziggurat. As shown by him, *eḍūka* or *elūka* was a later indigenous substitute for the original *jārūka*. He further quotes the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (commenting on Pāṇini, V. 3.101) which refers to *jārukāh ślokāh*, meaning verses pertaining to jārūka (*i.e.* Stūpa) worship, such as are found in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and other works.

That the jārūka or eḍūka (Aiḍūka) was a terraced structure is further proved by him from a reference to Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III. lxxxiv. 1-4, which makes it a terraced temple in three tiers (*bhadra-pīṭhas*) with a Śiva-liṅga installed on its top. He writes: "As a matter of fact an actual specimen of the eḍūka monument having three terraces and a Śiva-liṅga at its top has been unearthed at Ahicchatrā....But the traditional structure was certainly

[1] Agrawala, V.S., *Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XXIII (1950), pp. 150-151.

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an early one and its range was at one time quite extensive. One of the four kinds of *stūpas* in Serindia was a remarkable quadrangular building in several tiers diminishing in size upwards, like a gigantic staircase."[1] Dr. Agrawala has already noted the structural resemblance between Ziggurat and jārūka-eḍūka.[2]

I may add here an important point of resemblance: the platform on which the Stūpa drum is shown represents a fundamental also of the Ziggurat.

The structural resemblance between Coomaraswamy's HIIA, fig. 69A; Agrawala's Ahicchatrā Eḍūka and the Jaina Samavasaraṇa is quite obvious to all. And the authors of the Mahābhārata and the Mahābhāṣya seem to refer to the Jaina and Buddhist Stūpas when they speak of jārūkas (Ziggurats) or eḍūkas.

A study of the descriptions of the Samavasaraṇa noted above will show that the three fortifications are an essential part of the "Assembly-Hall". Represented in stone or metal, the Samavasaraṇa, extending horizontally, is expressed vertically (in elevation) as having three tiers or terraces. Even if it were to be expressed horizontally, the central Gandhakuṭi is to be shown on a platform, on a higher level than the other parts of the Samavasaraṇa.

Now a glance at the Stūpa in the relief from Mathurā illustrated here in fig. 6. will show that the Stūpa, with its three railings very closely resembles the Jaina Samavasaraṇa. And why is the Stūpa represented in this way, as if it is a two or three-terraced structure?

The stūpa, or the funeral mound as described by the Śatapatha may or may not be an elaborate structure but, from at least the third century B.C., Indian Stūpas seem to have become elaborate in plan and elevation. No such Mauryan stūpa is however known, but the highly ornate stūpas of Śuṅga Age, from Bhārhut and Sāñchī, suggest that the activity could have started from the Mauryan Age. In the words of Coomaraswamy, a stūpa can be described as follows:

"A stūpa usually rests on a basement of one or more square terraces (*medhi*) or is at least surrounded by a paved square or circle for circumambulation, the terraces being approached by stairs (*sopāna*); it consists of a solid dome (*aṇḍa* or *garbha*) with a triple circular base, and above the dome a cubical "mansion" or "gods' house (*harmikā*, Simh. *deva-koṭuva*) from which rises a metal mast (*yaṣṭi*) the base of which penetrates far into the *aṇḍa*; and this mast bears a range of symbolical parasols (*chatra*) and at the top a rain-vase

[1] Agrawala, *Ibid.*, p. 151. For the stūpa in Serindia, see, Encyclopaedia Britanica, 14th ed., 2.526.

[2] Also see, *Ancient India*, No. IV, p. 167.

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(*varṣasīhāla*) corresponding to the kalaśa of the Hindu shrines. The form undergoes stylistic development; at first there is no drum, but later on the circular base becomes a cylinder, and the dome is elevated and elongated, and the base terraces are multiplied."[1]

The Chinese pilgrims speak of certain stūpas as towers. The most remarkable monument of Kaṇiṣka's reign was possibly his great stūpa near Peshawar which, to sum up the various Chinese accounts, consists of a basement in five stages (150 ft.), a superstructure (*stūpa*) of carved wood in thirteen stories (400 ft.), surmounted by an iron column, with 13 to 25 gilt copper umbrellas (88 ft.), making a total height of 638 ft.[2]

The description of the stūpas given above, and the account of Kaṇiṣka's Tower just noted will further support the hypothesis regarding the structural resemblance between Ziggurat and stūpa. Even the early Yakṣa shrines such as the one illustrated in Coomaraswamy's HIIA., fig. 69A (if at all it is a Yakṣa shrine and not a memorial shrine) was made after the manner of a Ziggurāt, like a mountain or a tower.

The Jaina traditions speak of the first stūpa and shrine, erected by Bharata, on the mountain on which Ṛṣabhanātha obtained the Nirvāṇa. The shrine and the stūpas erected, Bharata made eight terraces (*aṣṭa-pada*) between the foot and the top of the mountain hence the name *aṣṭāpada* given to the mount. Here also is the underlying conception of the first Jaina shrine being an *eight-terraced mountain*, an eight-terraced Ziggurat, or an eight-terraced stūpa.

Let us take the Sāñchī Stūpa I. The outer railing with the prodessional path is the first terrace, though on ground level, and expressed horizontally. But there is a platform with a railing and a processional path above; and there is the harmikā on the top. The stūpa thus retains the characteristic of a Ziggurat.

It was possibly because of the fact of Ziggurat being regarded as the prototype of such terraced relic-structures or the elaborate stūpas, that the Mahābhārata and Mahābhāṣya referred to them as Jārūkas.

Nebuchadnezzar and his successor Nabonidus are credited with having repaired old Ziggurats. The Ziggurats were standing at least upto 539 B.C. as shown above, and though in ruins, must have stood for a few centuries more. They must have been familiar to Indians whose contacts with Sumerian Civilization and Babylon, from the age of Harappa to that of the Baveru

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 30. cf. also, the description of a stūpa in the *Divyāvadāna*, quoted by Foucher, A., L'Art Gre'co-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Vol. I, p. 96.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 53.

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Jātaka and later are well-known. The structural conception could have appealed to Indians at any stage.

Again, the influence of Persian artists in Aśoka's court cannot be doubted, even though there may be difference of opinions regarding details of such an influence. These artists, could also have been responsible for the introduction of the Ziggurat principle in the architecture of the funeral mounds, the stūpas erected by Aśoka. A number of Persian artists would have entered into India, after the destruction of the Achaemenian Empire in the 4th cent. B. C.

The extent of influence of the Ziggurat on the stūpa, and (through stūpa) on the Jaina Samavasaraṇa is a different matter, but the influence as such is quite probable and deserves careful consideration.

That the Samavasaraṇa is nothing but an adoption of the Stūpa architecture to Jaina theological use is self-evident to those who read the various texts describing the Samavasaraṇa cited in the preceding pages.

It was suggested by some scholars that the description of the *Yāna-vimāna*, the heavenly-car, given in the Rayapaseṇaiyam, sū. 45 ff., is an eye-witness account of the Jaina Stūpas of the Kuṣāṇa age. True it is that descriptions of some of the parts of Yāna-vimāna, can be applied to certain parts of the stūpa, but the constituents or the plan of the Yāna-Vimāna are quite different from that of any stūpa, Descriptions of walls, floors, pillars, reliefs, paintings, etc. would naturally be applicable to the Kuṣāna art specimens, but they do not exhaust the description of the stūpa structure, nor does the plan of the Yāna-Vimāna show any resemblance with the plan of a stūpa.

The long descriptions of the Vimāna or Heavenly abode of Suryābhadeva, in Rayapaseṇaiyam, sūtras 76 ff. are however interesting as they provide us with descriptions of various part of different structures, etc. The toraṇa-gateways are elaborately described and the description as well applies to the toraṇa-gateways of a stūpa, a shrine, a palace or a fortification. Here in the Sudharma-sabhā of the god we find reference to Caitya-stūpas (sū. 124, Becaradasa's ed. pp. 115 ff.) which is the same as found in the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra etc. referred to before. The stūpas are said to be mounted on *maṇipīṭhikās*.

The description of the Vimāna of Suryābha (sūtras 76 ff.) is however very interesting as it describes many art-motifs of the age (c. 300 A.D. when the Mathurā vācanā of the Jaina texts took place), but the plan of the elaborate Jaina (or Buddhist) stūpa is not obtained here. This can only be inferred from the account of the Samavasaraṇa.

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However, since the Vimāna of Suryābha is a Heavenly abode and since any shrine is a Heavenly abode, we must find some characteristics of Jaina shrines in such descriptions. Every heavenly abode, every Vimāna or Sabhā is to be entered by mounting certain flight of steps. And since the Jaina canons apply the same description (*varṇaka*) of an object in all contexts, we have to presume that the flights of steps, for a Jaina Stūpa or Samavasaraṇa were also probably regarded to be of the type described in the case of Sudharmā sabhā or Yāna-Vimāna. of Suriyābha. In this description of the flights of steps, the stairs described as "*tisovāṇapaḍirūvaga*" (Rāyapaseṇaiyam, sū. 30, p. 78, and sū. 121, p. 210 f) do not refer to three flights of steps on three different doors, but three flights of stairs near each gateway.[1]

Thus the conception of a triple stair is noteworthy as it agrees with the of the triple stair in front of (Ur-Nammu's' Ziggurat, referred to above. The Heavenly abode, the abode of the Great, was always adorned with such a triple-stair (*tri-sopāna*) as is shown by the Jaina *varṇaka* of sopāna in the Jaina canons. Here fortunately we have a very strong proof of the influence of the Ziggurat in India.[2]

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[1] Cf: Rāyapaseṇaiyam, sū. 30, p. 78.

[2] We might as well regard such similarities as the common heritage of the Early Asiatic peoples as suggested by Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, pp. 11-14, also, p. 4.

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INDEX

Abhayadeva, Abhayadeva sūri, 48n, 50, 51, 53n, 55, 67n, 68, 69, 83
Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, 61, 116n
Abhidhāna Rājendra, 89n, 117n
Ābu, 19, 22, 106n, 114, 117
Acalā, 82, 109
Acaleśvara, 21n
Ācāra Dinakara 100, 111
Ācārāṅga Sūtra, 44, 48, 49, 50, 73
—Niryukti, 116
Ācārya, 97, 98, 113
Ācārya Lāvaṇya Sūri, 101n
Achaemenian Dynasty, 125
—Empire, 129
Ādinātha, 11, 16n, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 71
Ādipurāṇa, 60, 71, 85n, 86n, 90n, 91n, 106n, 107n, 109n
Agaḍa, 49
Āgamas, 40
Agni, 61, 62
Agni-cityas, 42, 44
Agra, 33
Agrawala, V. S, 4n, 7, 9n, 11n, 15n, 56, 77n, 79n, 80, 81, 82n, 83, 110n, 111n, 112, 126n, 127ff.
Ahicchatrā, 8, 126ff
Ahmedabad, 17, 32, 33
Ahmednagar district, 24
Aiḍūka, 54n, 56, 58n, 93, 123ff, 126
Airavata kṣetra, 74
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 43
Ajanṭā, 27, 29, 30
Ajitā, 87
Ajitanātha, Jina, 15, 117
Ājīvika sect, 6
Ājīvikas, 8, 105n
Akoṭā, 4, 16, 17n, 19, 24, 28
Akrūra, 108
Akṣa, 113
Akṣavāṭikā, 119
Akṣaya vaṭa, 66n
Alakāpuri caves, 8
ālambaka, 91
Allahabad, 8
Al'Ubaid period, 123, 125
Al'Uqair, 124, 125
Āmalakappā, 50
Ambikā, 18, 19, 25, 26, 64, 74
Amarakośa, 126
Amarāvati, 58, 60, 70n, 83
Āmohinī, 9, 11, 78-79
Āmraśālavana, 55
Āmvām, 18
Aṇagāra, 59n
Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇ, 4
Ānanda (caitya), 48, 49
Ānanda gāhāvai, 53n
Anaṅgas, 75
Ananta cave, 7
aṇḍa, 127
Aṅgavijjā, 105n
Añjana mountains, 119
Aṅkai Taṅkai, caves, 24
Antagaḍadasāo (sutta), 51, 52
Anuyogadvāra cūrṇi, 114
Anu-Ziggurat, 124
Aparājitā, 87
Āprī Sūktas, 65
Apsarasas, 54, 57, 65
Arahata, 78
Arahato devakula, 81n
Arahatāyatana, 81n
Āraṅg, 25
Aramaic influence, 125
Arddha-phālaka-sampradāya, 83n
Ardhamāgadhī, 43
Ardha-maṇḍapa, 20
Arhan, 101n
Arhat, 14, 97, 98, 99
Arhat Acara, 30

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Arhat Caitya, 40, 53n
Arhat Nandyāvarta, 62
Arhat pratimā, 53n
Arhats, 6, 14, 15, 53n, 97, 119, 120
—Kāśyapīya, 8
—shrine of, 81
—pūjā of, 78, 81, 82n
—temples of, 119
Arihanta, 53n
Arihantaceiyāim, 53n
Ariṣṭanemi, 93
Arjuna, 112
Arrah, 99n
Arthaśāstra, 46, 47n, 51
Arts, classification of, 3
—Nāga, 64
—Deva, 64
—Yakṣa, 64
Āryā, 44
Aryaka (or Ayaka)—paṭas, 83
Aryans, 44, 51, 62, 63
Ārya Skandila, 111
Āryavatī, 11, 78, 79
Āśādhara, 61, 99n, 100
Aśāḍhasena, 8
Aśoka, 6, 64, 129
—tree, 52, 55, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 83, 88n, 91
—vana, 91
Assembly halls, 57, 127
Assyrian, 8
—gems, 125
Aṣṭāhnika-mahotsava, 120
Aṣṭamaṅgala (s), 41, 57, 58, 60, 67, 68, 82, 86, 91, 92, 93, 109-112,
Aṣṭamaṅgala-mālās, 110n
Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, 108
Aṣṭa-pada, 128
Aṣṭāpada, 10n, 27, 59, 116ff, 128
Aṣṭāpada-giri-kalpa, 117n
Aṣṭāpadamahātīrthakalpa, 117n
asthi-caityas, 47
Asuras, 126
Asurinda, 59n
Āsurya smaśāna, 57, 63, 126f
Aśvamedha, 45
Aśvattha tree, 47, 65, 66
Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 43, 44, 45, 49, 51
Atharvaveda (AV.), 65, 66, 112n
atipatākā, 55
aṭṭālikās, 91
Aṭṭemaṭṭe-Yantra-Paṭa, 34
Aṭṭhāvaya = Aṣṭāpada
Aupapātika Sūtra, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 67n, 68n, 69n, 81, 83, 86, 109n
Auspicious Dreams, 41, 105-108
—marks, 34,
—objects, 80, 112,
—symbols, 81, 82, 109ff.
Avasarpiṇī, 77
Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, 4, 9n, 59, 62, 85n, 119n, 120n
—Bhāṣya, 59n, 89n
—Niryukti, 10n, 12n, 58, 59, 62, 64n, 85n, 86, 88n, 89n
—Vṛtti, 10n, 59n, 62n, 64n, 85n, 86n, 89n
avatāra 117
Āyāgapaṭas, 9, 10, 11, 41, 60, 64, 69, 77-84, 86, 109, 110, 114, 115
āyāgasabhā, 81, 84
āyāma, 57
Āyavati, 78n, 79.

Babylon, 123, 125, 128
Bachhofer, L., 78n, 80n
Badāmī, 27
Badoh, 23, 24
Bāgh, 29
Bahali, 10n
Bahali—aḍambailla, 10n
bāhalla, 60
Bāhubali, 10, 64
Bahulārā, 25
Bahuputrikā, 49, 55
Bajpai, K. D., 82n
Baladevas, 107

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bali, 43, 66
Bali (Indra), 59n
Balipaṭṭas, 82n, 86, 109
Banaras, 14, 15, 62
Banerji, J. N., 60n, 61n
Banerji, R. D., 15n, 25, 26, 75n, 82n
Banerji-Shastri, 5n, 6
Bappabhaṭṭi sūri, 9, 64
Barabara hills, caves in, 6
Bārabhuji, caves, 6-7, 18, 26
Bārlī, 6, inscription from, 6n
Baroda, 33
Baroda Museum, 98
Barua, B. M., 6n, 8n, 59, 60n, 69n, 71
Baudhāyana, 65
Bāvā Pyārā's Maṭh, 12
Baveru Jātaka, 125, 128
Beal, S., 30
Bengal, 20, 24, 25, 26, 75n
Berar, 27
Besnagar, 14, 60, 61
Bhadrabāhu, 97n
bhadra-pīṭha, 126
bhaddāsaṇa, 67, 103n
bhadrāsana, 13, 81, 109, 110, 111, 114
Bhagavad-Gītā, 47
Bhagavatī Sūtra, 40, 49, 50, 52n, 53n, 54, 55, 72n, 97n
bhakti, 44, 52
bhāmaṇḍala, 88, 93
bhamatī, 21
Bhāṇḍak, 25
Bhandarkar, D. R., 11n, 16n, 85n, 94
Bharata, 45, 58, 59, 116, 117, 128
Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, 15, 62n
Bharata kṣetra, 74
Bhārhut, 7, 12, 18, 47, 57n, 58, 59, 60n, 69, 71, 79, 83
Bhattacharya, B. C., 17n, 18n
bhatticitta, 68
Bhāvadeva sūri, 34
Bhavanādhipatis (Bhavanapatis), 87, 89
Bhavanavāsī gods, 71, 74, 89
Bhelsā, 4
Bhinmāl, 17
Bhojanagara, 48
bhṛṅgāra, 90, 91, 111
Bhṛṅgas, 75
Bhumārā, 29
Bhūta (s), 40, 49, 54, 73, 74, 119
Bihar, 4, 6, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 35, 115
Bikaner State, 23
bimba, 47
Bodhisattva, 48, 66n
Bodhi-tree, 47, 58, 73
—shrine, 56, 69
—druma, 66n
Bombay, 102
Bone-relics, 53, 59, 126
Boston Museum, 56, 106n
Brahmā, 28
Brahmanical remains, 15
—fanes 20
—funeral relics, 126
—iconography, 39
—texts, 75
Brahmaghoṣa, 46
Brahmanism, 16
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, 108, 112
Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇa, 112n
Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya, 6n, 10n, 12n, 64n, 114
—Sūtra, 115
Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava, 121n
Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa, 63
Bṛhat-Siddha-Cakra, 99, 100
British Museum, 26
Bronze,
—of Ādinātha, 16n, 24, 26
—of Ambikā 25
—of Brahmā, 28
—of a Chauri-bearer, 17n, 24
—of Dancing-girl, 8
—of Jīvantasvāmī, 4, 28
—of Pārśva, 8f, 28n
—of Sarasvatī, 25, 28n

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—of Sahasrakūta, 24
—of Siddha-cakra, 98
—of Nandīśvara, 120, 121
Bronzes, from Chausā, 13, from Valabhī, 16, from Vasantagaḍh, 16ff, from Akoṭā, 4f, 16ff, 28ff, from Mahuḍi, 17, from Chāhardi, 24, from Rājanākin Khinkhini, 25, from Nalgora, 25, from Puri district, 26
Brown, Percy, 8n, 18n, 19n, 21n, 22n, 26n
Brown, W. Norman, 32, 33, 86n, 93, 94n, 106, 112
Buddha, 4, 5, 14, 39, 40, 41, 48, 61, 72, 73
Buddha-patimā, 48
Buddha's cūḍā, 48
Budhi Chanderi, 16, 23
Buddhism, 5, 16, 52, 64
Buddhist(s), 13, 15, 47, 81, 63, 66n, 75, 125,
—accounts of cremation, 59, 60n,
—cetiyas, 55
—literature, 48, 67
—painting, 27
—sculpture, 12
—sites, 83
—stūpa, 102, 126, 127
—works, 49, 60
—worship, 73
—Art, 73
Buhler, G., 11n, 77n, 79, 82, 84n, 86n
Bulandibag, 5
Bull-rider, 8
Burdwan district, 25
Burgess, J., 13, 26n
Burhanpur, 25
Burial ground, 47
Buxur, 13, 115

Caitya (caityas), 30, 40, 41, 43-49, 50-52, 55, 57, 66, 67, 71, 72, 83, 95, 98, 116
—explanation of term, 54; origin of, 43ff, 58; plan of a ca., 56, in the sense of a tree, 66-67, in the sense of a platform, 66; in the epics, 54
—Āmraśālavana-ca., 50; Ānanda-ca., 48, 49; Bahuputrikā ca., 49, 55, Gotma ca., 48f; Guṇaśīla ca., 49, 50; Chandaka-Nivartana-ca., 48; Pūrṇabhadra ca., 49-52, 67, 70, 71, 86; Sattambaka ca., 48, Uden ca., 48.
—of Tīrthaṅkaras, 52.
Caityālaya, 98
Caitya—daivata. 46, 51
—druma, 47
—dhātu, 48
—gṛhas, 46
—prāsādas, 46
—sthāna, 47
—vṛkṣa, 7, 41, 46, 47, 49n, 51-53, 54, 55, 56-58, 65ff, 70-73, 83n, 115
—yajña, 43, 44, 49, 51
—stambha, 49n, 51, 60
—stūpas, 49n, 53, 55, 57, 58
—yūpas, 44, 45, 47
Caitya-cave, 30
Caitya-halls, 7
Caitya-kṛta-vṛkṣa, 50
Caitya-kṛta-stūpa, 50
Caitya-tree, 10, 41, 46, 47, 67, 69-75, 77, 81, 82-84, 88, 91, 109, 119, 121
—table of, 76
Caitya-Vāda-Samīkṣā, 43, 44n, 49
Caitya-worship, 41, 46, 47, 95
Cakra, 115
Cakra-puruṣa, 14
Cakravartins, 107
Cālukyas, of Gujarat, 21
Camara, 57, 59
Cāmara, 91, 111
Cāmarajjhaya, 76
Cāmarajuyala, 67
Çambay, 33

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Campā, 50, 86
Campaka, 74, 91
Caṇḍāla, 47
Candana-ghaṭas, 55, 57
Candanaka, 113n
Candra kula, 102
Candrānana, 119
Candraprabhacaritra, 21n
Candraśālā, 91
Capital—of Banyan tree, 60
—of Tāla-dhvaja, 60
—of Garuḍa-dhvaja, 60
—of Makara-dhvaja, 60
—Votive, 60
Cāritra, 100, 101
Caturmukha Jinālaya, 22
Caturvijaya, 73
Caubārā Derā, 23
Caumukha image, 23
—shrine, 117, 120
—temple, 22, 26
Caumukha, 95
Cave-temples, 57n
Cayana, 43, 45, 49, 54
Ceiya, 43, 48, 51, Ceiyāim, 52
Ceiya-duma, 88
—khambha, 53n, 59n
—kaḍa thūbha, 49
—kaḍa rukkha, 49
—maha, 48
—mahotsava, 49
—rukkha, 48n
—thūbha, 59n
Central India, 14, 19, 21, 27, 29
Central Provinces, 25
Cetita, 43
—rukkha, 52, 53
—thūbha, 52-54
Cetiya, 43, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 67
—gṛha, 48
—mahotsava, 49
Cettadumā, 72n
Cettataru, 72n
Chakoḍie, 60
Chakravarti, A., 89n
Chanda, Ramaprasād, 3n, 14n, 26n
Chandā, 25
Chandaka, 48, 88
Chandaka-nivartana-caitya, 48
Chandela Art, 20
—temples, 19
Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 66, 105n
Chandragupṭa, 14
Chalcolithic age, 4
Chahnu-Daro, seals from, 65
Chāṇī 32
Chatra, 91, 111, 127
Chattāichhattā, 67
Chaturmukha shrine, 71
Chausa, 13, 115
Cheṭa (cheṭi) dynasty, 6
Chahardi, 24
Chhatrapur State, 19
Chhota Nagpur, 25
Chinese accounts, 128, pilgrims, 128
Chintāmaṇi-Yantra-Paṭa, 34
Chitor, 23, 61
Ciigam, Ciigāo, 59n
Cillaniyā, 64
Citrāṅgas, 75
Citra-paṭas, 117, 121n
Citrarasas, 75
Citra-śālā, 91
Cittakamma, 113n
Citya (citi), 43, 45, 54
Codrington, K. de B., 81n, 86n, 94n
Colapaṭṭa, 115n
conch, symbol, 14
Conqueror's life, 105n
Convent built, 30
Coomaraswamy, A. K, 7, 13, 21n, 24, 28, 39n, 41, 42n, 44, 45n, 47n, 48, 52n, 54n, 56, 61, 62, 66, 67, 69n, 75n, 80n, 94n, 105n, 106n, 112, 114, 123, 125n, 127ff
Cousens, H., 18, 25n,
Covīsī, 24
Cremation, Buddhist, 59, 60

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—of a Tīrthaṅkara, 59
—ground 47
Crossed wooden-stand, 113
cūḍā, 48
Cults, of Bhūtas, 73; Caitya worship, 95; of Gandharvas, 73; of Nāgas, 41, 73; of phallus worship, 44; of trees, 73, 74; of mother-goddesses, 44; of Yakṣas, 41, 44, 73, Yakṣi worship, 95
Cult-object, 48, 49, 58
Cunningham, A., 18n, 61
Cupid's banners, 111
Cyrus, 125

Dadhikarṇa Nāga 83
Dadhimukha mountains, 119
Daiva smaśāna, 57, 63, 126 f.
Daivata Caitya, 46, 51, 52
Ḍākinī, 102
Dāmayasada, 13n
Damoh district, 27
Daṇḍaka, 45
Daṇḍa-paunchanakam, 114
Daṇḍa-proñchanaka, 114, 115
dappaṇa, 67, 109n
darpaṇa 109-111
Darśana, 100-101
Daśaratha, 6
Daśāśrutaskandha, 108n
Datia, 27
Davids, Rhys, 72
Deccan, 3, 20, 24
Deity, 47
Delwada, Mt. Abu, 21
Deogarh, fort, 15, 20, 29, 95, 114; —temples, 15; pillars at, 20, 61; sculptures at, 20.
Desai, M. D., 31n
Deshpande, M. N., 13n
Deulbhirā, 25
Deva art, 64
Devas, 54, 126
Devacchandaka, 58, 87, 93, 119
Devadāruvana legend, 62
devadundubhi, 88
deva-kotuva, 127
devakulikās 21, 22
Devānandā, 105
Devanirmita stūpa, 62, 63, 64
Devarddhi gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, 108
Deva sūri, 34
Deva temple, 15
Devayam Ceiyam, 50, 51, 56
Devendra sūri, 113n
Devīpurāṇa, 108
Dhammacakka, 116n
Dhanabhūti, 79
Dhāndhala, 121
Dhāṅk, 17
Dhanapāla, 85n
Dharmacakra, 10, 14, 61, 62, 77, 80, 81, 82, 88, 98, 99, 115 —origin of, 10n; Uttarāpathe, 10n; devotional scenes on sides of, 11; shrine of, 58, 69; worship of, at Taxila, 64.
Dharmaghoṣa, 85n, 87n, 88n
Dharmanātha, 117
Dharmaśāstra, History of, 66n, 112n
Dharmopadeśamālā. 32
Dhātu-Caityas, 48, 52
ḍhiullikā, 113n
dhūli-sāla, 89
dhūpa-ghaṭa, 91
Dhvajas, 60, 62, 91, 111; meaning of, 61
Dhvaja-pillars, 11, 60, 61
Dhyāna-mudrā, 11, 16
Diamond-boxes, 53
Didarganj Yakṣī, 51
Digambara (s), 11, 19, 20, 24, 58, 61, 74, 85, 93, 98, 100, 117, 120 —Bhāṇḍāras, 99n —diagram, 99 —images, 11 —Jainas, 95, 106 —lists, 74

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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—manuscripts, 27, 103
—partition, 74
—sites, 21
—sect, 23, 25, 26, 35, 111, 117
—shrine, 121
—tantra, 99
—temples, 19ff., 24, 25
—texts, 63
—tradition, 63, 85, 95, 105. 121
Dīgha Nikāya, 48, 55
Dignity, 97n
dik-gaja, 90
Dik-kumārīs, 24
Dik-pālas, 20, 22, 102n
Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra, 43, 44n, 45-47, 51
Dināǰpur district, 25
Dīnāra-mālā, 108
Dīpaśikhās, 75
Disc, 39
Divinity, 39
Divyāvadāna, 39, 128
door-frames, 107
door-lintels, 62
Double-headed eagle, 9
Draupadi, 40
Dravidians, 44, 51
Dreams, 33, 105-108
—auspicious and inauspicious, 107
—belief in, 108
—four, 107; five, 105; seven, 107; fourteen, 105, 106, 108; sixteen, 105, 106
—ten, seen by Mahāvīra, 107
dvi-śālā. 91
dvīpa(s), 117, 121
Early Asiatic 125n
—Cultures, peoples, 130n
Early Dynastic seals, 124
Eastern School, of Sculpture, 17, 19, 25
Eḍūkas, 56n, 93n, 126ff
Eggling, Julius, 126
eight days' festival, 120
eight-terraced mountain, 128
—stūpa, 128
—Ziggurat, 128
eka-śālā, 91
Ekasamdhi, 99, 100
Ekavimśatisthānakaprakaraṇa, 73n
Elements, of Dravidian Origin, 44
Elephanta Trimūrti, 29
Ellora, 27, 30, 31
Enlil, storm-god, 124
Eraṇ, 18
Eraṇḍol, 24
Eridu, 125
Eternal temples, fifty-two, 120

Fergusson, J. 24n
Festivals,48, 49
Fleet. J., 15n, 95n
Foucher, A., 128n
four Essentials, 97
four Padas, 98, 100
Frankfort, Henri, 123n, 124 ff.
Frescoes, of Ajanta, 29
Full-jar, 112n
Full-vase, 112
Funeral Caityas, 50
—memorials, 47
—mounds, 47, 53, 93n
—relic, 48, 52, 53
—stūpas, 50
Furhrer, A., 8n

Gāḍarmal temple, 24
Gaja-Lakṣmī, 7
Gaṇadhara (Gaṇahara), 59n, 61, 114, 116
Gandhakuṭi, 56, 93, 94, 127
Gandhala valley, 15
Gandharvas, 65, 72, 74, 78
Gandhāra, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 40
Ganeśa-gumphā, 7, 8
Gaṇeśa, reliefs of, 75
Gaṇges, 26
garbha, 127
Garde, M. B., 14n, 17n, 24n

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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Garuḍacayanayâga, 45, 47
Garuḍa-dhvaja, 60, 61
Gautama Buddha, 39
Gautama, 114, 116, 117
Gautamīputra, 80
Gawalgarh, 27
Gayaggapada, 116n
Gehākāras, 75
Ghanṭai temple, 19
Ghateśvara, 25
Ghoṣitārāma, 71
Ghoṭan, 24
Girnar, 13, 19, 27, 117
Goāleśvara, 23
Goḍvāḍ district, 22
Golavaṭṭasamuggaa, 53n, 59n
Gonds, 26
gopura, 90, 91
Gordon, D. H , 8n
Gosīsavaracandaṇa, 59n
Gotama, 48, 49, 72
Gotiputra, 80
Govīndarāja, 47
grāma-caityas, 47
Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, 21
Gujarat, 17, 24, 29, 34
Guṇaśīla—Ca., 50
Gupta age, 28, 58, 61, 95
—art, 29
—inscriptions, 61n, 95n
—period, 13ff, 30
—sculptures, 29
Gurjjara—Pratīhāra, 32
Guru-Pādukās, 102n
Gwalior fort, 14
—state, 23, 24, 32
Gyaraspur, Malade temple, 23

Haihayas, 25
Hamsalakkhaṇam padasāḍayam, 59
Hamsarāja Shastri, 43, 44n, 45n, 49, 50
Handiqui, K. K., 63n
hanging gardens 124n
Haradatta, 44n
Harādri, 116
Harappa, statuette from, 4
—torso, 8, 41
—seal, 54
—age of, 128
Haribhadra, 10n
Haribhadra sūri, 12, 21n, 59, 62n, 63, 85n, 86n, 115
Harihara, 53n
Harinegameṣin ,105
Hariṣeṇa, 63
Hārīti, 21, 55
Harivaṁśa, 63n, 75n, 85n, 106n, 107n, 119n, 120n
Harmashra, 25
harmikā, 127, 128
harmya, 91
Harṣacarita, 79n, 110n, 112n
Hastiśālā, 117
Hāthras, 9
Hathigumphā, 6, 7
hatthaga, 68
Haug, Martin, 43n
Hellenic School, 4
Hemacandrācārya, 4, 32, 33, 61, 75, 82n, 85, 86, 100, 101, 102, 109, 116
Hematilaka sūri, 102n
herald(s), of Vāsudeva, 61
of families of Jinas, 61
Herodotus, 124
Holi Abu, 21
Hoshangābād, 25
Holy-steads, 49, 50, 52
Holy Trees, 53
Hiuen-tsang, 30
Hṛimkāra, paṭa of 34
Huttemann, Wilhelm, 112n
Huviṣka, 9

Iconography, 11n, 39, 60n, 91, 62n, 85n
Idar State, 28, 29
īhāmṛga, 57
Image, of Brahmā, 28
of Buddha, 5, 39
of Dig. and Śve., 11

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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of Jīvantasvāmi, 4
of Jinas, 60
of Mudgarapāṇi yakṣa, 52
of Pārśva or Supārśva, 28
—worship, 12, 39, 45
India, 125, 129, 130
Indian Museum, 25, 26
Indore State, 23
Indra, 40, 44, 49, 59, 60, 85, 86, 89-91, 120
Indra-dhvaja, 57, 60, 90, 95, 119
—yaṣṭi, 79, 80, 81
Indranandī, 99
Indo-Hellenic School, 4
Idol, of a Jina, 39
—worship, 39, 40
Indus Valley Civilization, 65, 66
Iran, 125
Īśāna, 59n

Jacobi, H., 86n
jagatī, 89
Jaina (s), 6, 25, 73, 74, 83, 97, 98, 103
Jaina ācāryās, 33
Jaina āgamas, 40
Jaina antiquities, 3, 41, 64
—Pre-historic, 3f
—Maurya and Śuṅga, 4ff
—Kṣatrapa and Kuśāṇa, 9ff
—Pre-Gupta and Gupta, 13ff
—Transitional Period, 16ff
Jaina, art, 3, 7, 41;
—bronzes, 13, 16, 19, 24, 28, 31
—canons, 44, 48, 50, 52, 53, 57, 67, 83, 84, 110, 130
—caves, 6-8, 12-14, 24, 31; Community, 33; cosmography, 119; faith, essence of, 98; finds, 9ff, 74; history, 53n; iconography, 11n, 85n; Kīrttistambha, 23, 61; literature, 41, 48, 52n, 67, 83n; Mahāvidyās, 32; manuscripts, 27; miniatures, 29-32, 112n; monks, 6, 14, 49, 50, 52, 97n, 102, 113, 115; mythology, 27; Paintings, 27ff, 30; 31, 34; pedestals, 115; Purāṇas, 74, 85; relics, 6; remains, 3, 24; rites, 111; Saṁgha, 97; scriptures, 98, 99; sculpture, 6, 15n, 24f; sects, 74; shrines, 19, 21, 23, 40, 53n, 73, 74, 84, 94, 106, 107, 111, 117, 121, 130; sites, 3; stūpa, 9, 57 63, 64, 79, 83, 110n, 127, 129, 130 sūtras, 50; temples, 5-6, 14, 19ff, 25ff., 57, 58, 61; texts, 53, 58, 75, 109; tīrtha, 116; theology, 97; tradition, 3, 5, 64, 107, 128; vestiges, 25; vihāra, 15; worship, 40, 41, 57, 58, 73, 74, 81, 109
Jainism, 3, 5, 6, 16, 40, 52, 62, 101, 103
Jaina, C. R., 111n
Jaina, K. P., 83n
Jaina Siddhānta Bhavan, Arrah, 99n
Jaipur, 23
Jakkhāyayaṇa, 50
jāla, 91
Jalla, 56
Jālūka, 126
Jālor, 23
Jamāli, 49
Jambhā, 99
Jambhalā, 21
Jambū-dvīpa, 119
Jambūdvīpaprajñāpti, 24, 49n, 54n, 59, 75, 109n, 116, 120n
Jambūsvāmicaritra, 63
Jārūka, 56, 123
Jārūkāh ślokāh, 126
Jātakas, 66n
Jaunapura, 34-35
javamālikā (japamālikā), 114, 115
Jayā, 87, 99
Jayadhavalā, 63
Jesalmere, 23, 34
Jhālawāḍ State, 27
Jhālrāpāṭaṇ, 18, 27
Jñāna, 100, 101

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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Jñātādharmakathā, 31, 40, 49
Jñātṛ people, 55
Jodhpur, 18, 23
Johnsan, H., 86n, 111n
Johnson, E. H., 112
Jubbulpore, 25
Jūnāgaḍh, 12
Jyeṣṭhā, 44
Jyotiṣkas (trees) 75
—gods, 87, 89
Jayadāman, 13
Jayaswal, K. P., 5
Jaya Vijaya caves, 8
Jhānsi district, 16, 20
Jina image, 4, 5, 39f., 60, 62, 71, 73, 81, 99
—figures, 4, 5, 11, 57, 61, 81
—paḍimā, 52, 72n
Jina (s), 3, 9, 12, 19, 26, 27, 39, 56, 62, 73, 74, 81, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 93, 106, 111, 117
—twenty-four, 25, 58, 116
—lāñchhanas of, 61
Jina, mother of, 11, 20, 79
—parents of, 11
Jinālayās, 120
Jina-āyatana, 53
Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, 19, 28, 29, 64, 113n, 114
Jina-Kāñcī, 94, 99
Jinaprabha sūri, 9, 12, 62, 63, 64, 85n, 87n, 88n, 89, 117
Jiṇasakahāo, 53n, 59n
Jinasena, 63, 71, 85, 89, 93, 119n
Jina-Saṁhita, of Indranandī, 99
—of Ekasaṁdhi, 99, 100n
Jina temple, 99, 111
Jinavijayaji, 9n, 34
Jinendra, image of, 90, 91
Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra, 40, 49n, 58, 60n, 74n, 120n, 129
Jīvantasvāmī, 4, 28, 29

Kadamba, 74
Kahaon, 15
Kahaon pillar, 61, 95
Kailāsa, 59, 116
Kālāguru, 16
Kālakāchārya Kathā, 32, 33, 80, 105n
Kalasa, 67, 109n
Kalaśa, 89, 90, 91, 109, 111, 128
Kālikāpurāṇa, 108
Kaliṅga, 7
Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka, 48
Kaliṅga Jina, 6
Kalpa-druma, 75
—tree, 79, 91
Kalpa-latā, 90
Kalpa Sūtra, 7, 32-34, 61, 73, 81, 86n 93, 97n, 105-108
Kalpavāsī gods, 89
Kālugumalai, 73
Kalyāṇaka ceremony, 120
Kaṁsa, 108
Kane, Mm. P. V., 66, 112n
Kaṇha Samaṇa, 83
Kaṇiṣka, 9, 79, 110, 128
Kaṅiṣka's Tower, 128
Kaṇkālī Ṭilā, 9, 12n, 61, 62, 64, 69, 77, 114, 115
Kāṇvaśākhīya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 44
Kapadia, H. R., 87n
Kaparda, 113n
Kapiśīrṣa, 87
Karachi Museum, 28, 29
Kar, Chintamoni, 24n
Kāranjā, 25
Kashmir, 3
Kāśyapīya Arhats, 8
Kauśāmbī, 71
Kauśika family, 80
Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra of, 46, 47n
Kāyotsarga, mūdrā, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11
ketana, 91
Kevala-Jñāna, 13, 86
Khajurāho, 19, 20, 23, 107
Khambila (Khandila), Āryikā, 28n
Khaṇḍagiri, caves, 6ff, 27
Khāndesh, 20, 24

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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Kharataravasahi, Chaumukha shrine, 106n
Khāravela, 6
Kharoṣṭhi script, 125
Khātikābhūmi, 94
khaṭvāṅga, 74, 87
Khiching, 26
Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā, 48
Kīcaka, 21
Kierfel, W., 74n
Kimpuruṣas, 74
Kinnaras, 57, 74
Kīrttistambha, 23, 61
Kolhapur, 121
Kosala, 45
Kosam, 8, 82n
Kramrisch, Stella, 5n, 8n, 20, 24n, 27, 41n
krīḍāmaṇḍapa, 91
krīḍāparvata, 90
Krishna, 4, 108
Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma, 49
Kṣatrapa, 9ff, 111
Kṣetrapāla, 20, 61, 64, 102n
Kubera, 20, 61
Kuberā, 62
Kubera-like yakṣa, 17
Kulluka, 47
Kumāragupta I, 15
Kumrahar, 5
Kumārapāla, 4, 21, 22, 23, 26, 33
Kumārī hill, 6
Kumbhāriā, Dāntā State, 23, 106, 114
Kumuda Candra, 34
Kumuyahatthagā, 67
Kuṇḍalpur, 27
Kuṇḍas, 90
Kundurukka, 55
Kuraishi, 6n, 18n, 26n
Kuṣāṇa age, 12, 61, 63, 64, 84, 86, 95, 109, 110, 111, 115, 129
—period, 3, 9, 10, 11, 14, 80-82
—art, 77, 129
—type, 14, 58
Kuśasthala, 7n
Kutcch, 3

Laghukṣetrasamāsa, 120
Laghu-Siddha-Cakra, 99, 100
Lahore Museum, 15n
Lāñchanas, 11, 61, 74
Laṅkā, 46
Lannman, Charles, 78n
Lalitavistara, 48
lāsaka, 56
latā-vana, 90
Laugākṣa—Gṛhya-Sūtra, 50
Law, B. C., 8n, 55n
Lakṣmī, 33
Lohānipur, torso from, 4, 5n, 6, 8, 40
Lohuizen—De Leeuw, J. E. Van, 78n
Lokāntika gods, 11
lomahatthaga, 55
Loṇaśobhikā, 64, 80, 81
lotus, 11, 39, 41, 78, 79, 82, 91, 105 ff, 109 f.
lotus-lake, 119
Lucknow Museum, 11, 15, 61, 77, 78, 79n, 80, 81, 82, 86, 110
Lüders, H., 11n, 78
Lūṇa Vasahi, 117

maccha, 67, 109n
Mackay, E. J. H., 8n
maḍayaceiga, 50
maḍayathūbhiya, 50
Maddona, 19
Mādhavayajvā, 46
Madhya Pradesh (M. P.), 3, 20, 25
Madyaṅgas, 75
Magadha, 5, 6, 67, 71
Magadhan artists, 5
Mahābhārata, 45, 46, 54, 65n, 66n, 93n, 112, 126 ff
Mahābhāṣya, 65n 126 fl
Mahābodhi-vaṁśa, 48
Mahābodhi-rukkha, 48
Mahākāla, 53n
Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍās, 78

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Mahāniśītha sūtra, 54n, 97n
Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, 48, 55, 60n
mahā-prāsāda, 91
mahāpuṇḍarīka, 78
Mahāpurāṇa, 85, 89, 91n, 93, 106n, 107n, 109n
Mahārāṣṭra, 30
Mahāvidyās, 21
Mahāvīra, 4-6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 18, 23, 26, 39-41, 49-53, 70-73, 77n, 83, 85n, 86, 93, 105, 107, 114, 116
—caritra, 33
Mahāvīra, caitya tree of, 73; miniature of, 93; mother of, 11; portrait of, 4, 39; samavasaraṇa of, 94n.
Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, 12, 63
Mahāvīra's parents, 40
Mahāviṣṇu, 29
Mahendradhvaja, 57, 58
Mahendravarman I, 27, 94
Maheśvara, 47
Mahiṣamarddinī, 33
Mahoragas, 74
Mahobā, 19
Mahuḍi, 17
Majhamikā (Mādhyamikā), 6
Majumdar, N. G., 65n
Makarabal temple, 19
Makara-dhvaja, 60
Makaraketu, 86
Malayagīri, 113n
Mallinātha, Jina, 27, 47
Mallinātha-Caritra, 21n
Malliṣeṇa, 89n
Mānastambhas, 23, 60, 61, 89, 95
māṇatthambha, 72n
Māṇavakastambha, 23, 53, 58, 60
Manbhum district, 25, 26
Mañcapuri cave, 7n
mañco, 66, 70
Maṇḍapa, 19-21, 27, 91
Maṇḍasor, 27
Māṇḍalā, 25
maṅgala-dravyas, 112
Maṅgala-kalaśa, 13, 79, 83, 110, 112n, 114
Maṅgala-mālā, 112
maṅgalas, 90, 112
Māngi Tungi, 24
Māṇibhadra, 55
maṇipīṭhikā, 52, 57, 58, 60, 129
maṇipīthaka, 119
maṅkha, 56
Maṅkhaliputta, Gośāla, 6
Manorama Udyāna, 67
Manu, 47, 66
Manusmṛti. 66n
Maṇyaṅgas, 75
Marshall, J. H., 3n, 7, 8n, 10n, 64, 65n,
Mārwār, 17. 18, 94
Mathurā, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14, 22n, 41, 56, 62-64, 69, 77, 78, 80, 82-84, 86, 95, 109-111, 114, 115, 127
—Art, 12,
—Āyāgapaṭas, 77,
council. 111
—Inscriptions from, 83, 84n
Mathurā Museum, 14, 15, 80, 82-84
Mathurā School of Sculpture, 9
Mathurā, Stone Umbrellas from, 56n
Mathurā Stūpa, 8. 9, 12, 62, 63, 64, 127
Māthuraka Lavaḍa, 77n
Mathurā vācanā, 129
Matsya Purāṇa, 108
Matsya-yugma, 109, 111n
Mauryan, age, 4, 5, 51; era, 6; polish, 51n, 70, 83n; sites, 5; stūpa, 127, sculptures, 6n; torso, 4, 5
Māyādevi, 7
Mayūrabhañja State, 26
medhi, 127
Mediæval period, 20ff
Meghadūta, 47
Meghakumāras, 86 (Mehakumāra) 59n
Mehta, N. C., 33
Mehta, Ratilal, 66n

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Merumandara-Purāṇa, 89n
Mesopotamia, 124, 125
Mevāḍ, 23
Mīnaḷadevī, 31
mīnayugala, 13
Miniature paintings, 24, 30ff, 106
—shrine, 58, 120
Miri, 24
mirror, 111
Mithilā, 55
Mitra, Rajendralal, 6n
Moghul, period, 23f; influence, 33
Mohen-jo-Daro, Dancing girl from, 8;
—seals from, 3, 41, 65n
—terracotta figurine, 8
Makalāji temple, 23
Mother Goddess, 9, 44, 70
Mothers (goddesses), 66
Mother, of a Jina, 11, 18, 20f, 79, 83, 105;
Mothers, of Śalākāpuruṣas, 107
Mother, of a Vāsudeva, 107
Moti Chandra, 7, 9n, 10n, 26n, 27n, 30, 31n, 32n, 33, 34, 111n
Mount Girnār, 26
Mount Meru, 27
Mount of the Dead, 124
Mount Pārasnāth, 27
Mṛcchakaṭika, 46
Mṛtaka caityas, 50, 52
Mṛtakastūpikā, 50
Mūḍabidri, 27
Mudgarapāṇi-yakṣa, 51, 52, 70
Mukhamaṇḍapas, 20, 52, 57, 119
mukhapotikā, 115n
Muktagiri, 27
Muha-patti, 98, 114
Muha-paṭṭikā, 98, 114, 115
Mukunda, 44, 49
Mūla-Bhāṣya, 59
Mūlagarbhagṛha, 21
Muni Jayantavijaya, 21n, 106n
Jinavijayaji, 34
Kalyāṇavijaya, 16n
Puṇyavijaya, 32n, 34, 105n, 107n, 108
Muni Vairadeva, 13, 14n
Munisuvrata, Jina, 9, 62
Mūrti, 15
Murtijapur district, 25

Nabonidus, 123n, 125, 128
Nāga (s), 40, 41, 44, 47, 49, 54, 72-74, 119
—art, 64
nāgadanta, 60
Nanarī, near Chitor, 6n
Nāgārjuni hill, 5
Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, 83
Nāgendra kula, 28n, 102
Nāgpur Museum, 25
Nālamaṇḍapa, 18
Nālandā bronzes, 17
Nalgorā, 25
ṇaliṇahatthagā, 67
nāmapiṇḍam, 113n
Namaskāra-mantra, 98, 100, 103
Namaskāra-Niryukti, 97
Namaskāra-valaya, 101, 102
Nanda king, 6
Nandā-puṣkariṇī, 58
nandiāvarta, 67, 109n
Nandīśvara-dvīpa, 52, 119-121
Nandīśvara-paṭa, 121
Nandīśvara-tapa (N.-tapa), 121
Nandipada, 111n
Nandyāvarta maṇḍala, 100
—symbol, 100n, 109-111
Nannar temple, 123
Nanna sūri, 115
Nārāyaṇa, 43, 44
Nasik district, 24
Nativity, of Buddha, 7
—sculpture, 24
nāṭya-śālās, 90, 91
Nava-Devatā 97-103
Navakāra-mantra, 100
Navamuni, cave. 6, 18, 26
Nava-Pada, 97, 99

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Nava-Pada-Ārādhanā-vidhi, 99
Navacoki, 21
Navasāri, 20
Nawab, Sarabhai, 33, 34
Nāyādhammakahāo, 44n, 49
N.B. P. ware, 51n, 70
Nebuchadnezzar, 128
Nemesa, 11
Nemicandra, 99, 119n
Neminātha, Jina, 4, 14, 15n, 24n, 27, 32, 73
—charita, 32
—temple of, 27
Nepal, 3
nidhis, 111
Nikumbhilā Caitya, 46
Nīlāñjanā, 11
Nimitta-pāṭhakas, 105n
—śāstra, 80, 105
Nine Worthies, 98, 100
Nirayāvalīāo, 106n
Nirvāṇa, 58, 59, 63, 116, 117
Nirvāṇakalikā, 100
Nirvṛti kula, 102
Niryuktis, 111
Niśītha Cūrṇi, 4, 31
North Arcot district, 94
North Gujarat, 28, 73
nyagrodha, 65, 66n

Oghaniryukti, 114n
Oldenburg, H., 44
Orchhā State, 27
Orissa, 3, 6, 18, 20, 26, 27
Orissan caves, 7
Oṣadhis, 65, 66n
Osiā, 18
Oza, Pt. G. H., 6n

Pabhosa, 8
pada, 97n
paḍirūvagā, 88n
Padmacarita, 85n, 107n
padma-latā, 78
Padmāvatī, 17, 25
Pahārpur; 12n, 15, 22, 25, 63
Pahlagas, 10n
Paintings, 33, 34, 39
—at Ajanṭā, 27, 30
—on canvass, 111
—Jaina, 27 ff; 34 ff
—miniature, 31, 111
—on scroll, 33 ff; 111
—of Vidyādevīs, 31 f
—on wooden book-covers, 34
pair of fish, 11, 79-81, 109-111
palāśa tree, 65
paṭṭikās, 31, 34
Pañca-kalpa-Bhāṣya, 80
—Cūrṇi, 80
pañca-kalyāṇakas, 11
pañcālikā, 89
Pañca-Maṇḍala, 99
Pañca-Meru, 117, 123
pañca-namaskāra, 101
Pañca-Namaskāra-kalpa, 103
Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-kalpa, 103
Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra, 97, 100n, 101, 102
Pañca-Parameṣṭhins, 97, 100
Pañcāsara temple, 73
Pañca-stūpa-nikāya, 63
Pañcastūpānvaya, 12n, 15, 63
Pañcavastu-prakaraṇa, 114n
Pāṇini, 126
Papaura, 27
Parameṣṭhins, 98, 99, 100, 101
Parel Śiva, 29
Parents, of Jinas, 11
Pāribhogaka, 48
parikhā, 90
Parmār, of Malwa, 21, 23
—sculptures, 32
Pārśva, Pārśvanātha, Jina, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, 25, 34, 40, 62, 64n, 73, 78, 94, 106n
—bronze of, 8, figure of, 15, sculpture of, 63
Parthians, 80n

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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paryaṅka-āsana, 57, 119
Paśupati, 44
Patañjali, 65, 126
paṭas, (plaques), 41, 69, 117, 120, 121
Paṭa, of Aṭṭe-Maṭṭe-yantra, 34, Cintamaṇi-yantra, 34, of Hṛinikāra, 34 of Sūrimantra, 34
paṭas, tantric and non-tantric, 34
Pathārī, 18, 24
Patnā, 5
Pāṭaṇ, 19, 31, 32, 33, 73, 106
Patnā, 5, 24, 33, 40
Patnā Museum, 13, 26
Pattaini devī, 18
paṭṭikās, 31, 34
Paumacariyam, 10n
paumahatthagā, 67
Pauśadhaśālā, 84
Pavitrakalpasūtra, 32n, 106n, 107, 108
pedestals, 11, 61
Persepolitan style, 80
Persians, 125
Persian artists, 129
Peshawar, stūpa near, 128
phallus worship, 62
pillars, 11, 20, 21, 23, 61, 82, 115
—fiery, 61
Piṇḍaniryukti, 113n, 114n
Piṇḍawāḍā, 17n
Pippala tree, 47, 65, 66n 71, 72
Piśācas, 74
pitcher-carriers, 119
piṭha, 88, 90, 91, 117
pīṭhikā, 89, 90, 91
Plakṣa tree, 65
planets, 19
platform (s), 48, 52, 60, 66, 67, 90, 91, 94, 115, 117, 119, 120, 124 ff
Pothayas, 80
powder-box, 79
powder-flask, 110
Prabhāvatī, 7
Pradyota, 4
Pradyumna, 60
Prajñapti, 126
prākāra, 90
Praśṇavyākaraṇa sūtra, 111n
Prasenajit, 7n
Pratīhāra, 18, 102n
Prātihāryas, 56, 73
pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā, 11, 22n, 95
Praṣṭhā-kalpa-Ṭippaṇam, 99, 100n
Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, 61n, 74n, 99n, 100n
Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka, 99
Pravacanasāroddhāra, 75n, 101, 102, 121
Praxartaka Śri Kāntivijaya, 106n
Pre-Guptā period, 13ff
Pre-historic period, 3ff
prekṣāgṛha, 52, 57, 91
prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapa, 57, 58
prekṣā-maṇḍapa, 119
Premi, Pandit Nathuram, 12n, 63n
Prince of Wales Museum, 8, 16, 22, 24
Pṛthvīpāla, 21
Pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭa, 51n, 52, 56, 68-71
Pt Bechardās, 109n
Pudducotta state, 27
Puṇḍarīka, 26
Puṇḍravardhana, 15
Pūrṇabhadra caitya, 49-52, 54, 55, 70, 72, 83n, 86
—yakṣka, 52, 55
Pūrṇa-ghaṭa, 111n
Puri district, 26
Purimatāla, 10n
Pūrṇa-kalaśa, 112
Pūrvva texts, 102
Puṣpa-dāma, 111n
pusta (puttha), 113n

Rahāvattanaga, 116n
railing, 48, 65, 69
Raipur, 25
Rājagṛha, 49, 50, 51, 70, 85n
Rājamalla, 63
Rājasthān, 24, 29, 115, 117
Rājgir, 13, 14

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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Rājnākin Khinkhini, 25
rajoharaṇa, 114n, 115
Rājput school, of painting, 34
Rākṣasas, 74
Rāma, 45
Rāmacandran, T. N., 7n, 74n, 85n, 89n, 94, 99n, 119n, 120, 121
Rāmāyaṇa, 35, 46, 47, 112
Rāṇakpur, 22, 27, 120
Ranchi district, 25
Raṅgabhūmi, 90
Raṅgamaṇḍapa, 21
Raṇī gumphā, 7, 26
Rapson, E. J., 78n
Ratanpur, 25
Ratikara mountains, 119
Ratnamandir gaṇi, 101, 102
ratna-pātra, 111n
ratna-rāśi, 109
Ratnaśekhara sūri, 102n, 120
Rāvaṇa, 46, 47
Raviṣeṇa, 85n
Rayaharaṇam, 114n
Rāyapaseṇaijjam, 53n
Rāyapaseṇaiyam, 40, 50, 68, 109n, 129, 130
Relic Depository, of the Arhats, 6
—sanctuary, 50
—structure, 47, 50, 125
Revā state, 25
Ṛgveda, 65, 66n
Right Conduct, 97, 98
Right Faith, 97, 98
Right Knowledge, 97, 98
Right Penance, 97, 98, 100
River, 49
Roḍā, 28
Rohtak, 17
rosary, 115
Ṛṣabha, Ṛṣabhanātha, Jina, 10n, 11, 16, 19, 24n, 26, 29, 58, 73, 86, 116, 117, 119, 128
—samavasaraṇa of, 73
—shrine of, 102
—bronze of, 16n, 29
Rudra, 40, 44, 49
Rudradāman, 13
Rudrasena, 13
Rudrasiṁha I, 13n
Rukkha-devatā, 48
Śabdakalpadruma—kośa, 45, 108n, 112n
Śabdānuśāsana, 101
Sabhāmaṇḍapa, 18
sacred tree, 48
sacrificial posts, 47
Sādaḍī, 115
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, 126
sādhus, 89, 97, 98, 114, 115
sādhvīs, 89, 115
Śādvala-bhūmi, 91
Ṣaḍvigrahikah, 60
Sahani, D. R., 15, 23n
Sahasrakūṭa, sculpture, 24
sakahā, 58, 59n
Sakahā, of the Jinas, 53, 58, 59n
Śaka-Parthian period, 9
Śakas, 80
Śākinī, 102
Śakuna, 108
Śakuntalā, 7
śāla, 89, 90
Śālabhañjikā, 57, 86
Śalākāpuruṣas, 107
Śāla tree, 72
Śālibhadra Chaupai, 33
Śāliggāma, 67
Sattambaka, 48
Śāmalāji, 28, 29
Samavasaraṇa, 11, 12, 41, 56, 57, 60, 71, 82n, 85-95, 117, 123-130.
Samavasaraṇa-stava, 85n, 87n, 117
Samavasaraṇa-stava-avacūri, 85n, 87n, 117
Samavasaraṇa-stotra, 85n
Samavāyāṅga sūtra, 48n, 53n, 73, 74n
Sambhava, Jina, 117
Sameta Śikhara, 27, 117

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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Samghācāra-ṭīkā, 113n
Samghadāsa gaṇi, 67
Samgrahaṇī sūtra, 33
Samidh 65
Samprati, 6
samstāraka-paṭṭa, 115n
samyak-cāritra, 97, 99
samyak-darśana, 97, 99
samyak-jñāna, 97, 99
samyak-tapa, 99
Samyutta Nikāya, 66, 70
Sānā, caves at, 13
Sāñchī, 12, 47, 57n, 58, 70, 110n, 112, 128
sanctuary, 51, 52
Sandalwood image, 4, 5
Samghārāma, 30
Sankalia, H. D., 13n, 17n, 20n, 22n
Saṅkarṣaṇa, 60
Saṅkha-nidhi, 111n
Śānti, 111
Sānticandra, 49, 54n
Śāntinātha, Jina, 25, 94
—tempie of, 107
Saptaparṇa, 91
Sarcar, D. C., 6n
Śārīraka (cetiya), 48
Sārnāth, 15, 29
Śārṅgadhara, 29
Sarasvatī, 11, 19, 31
—bronze of, 25, 28
—from Pullu, 23n
—miniature of, 31
—from Vasantagaḍa, 17
Sarasvati, S. K., 14n, 18n, 22n
Śāśvata-bimba, 119
Śāśvata-caityālayas, fifty-two, 120, 121
Śāsanadevatā, 74
Śāśvata-Jina, 119
Śāśvata-Jina-āyatana, 52, 53
Śāśvata-Jinālaya, 119-121
Śāśvata-Jinas, 115
—pratimās, 40
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 43, 44n, 54, 55, 57, 58n, 63, 64, 93n, 125ff.
Sātavāhana, 80
ṣaṭkoṭikah, 60
Śatruñjaya, 26, 27, 59, 117
Saudharmendra, 73
Śaunaka-kārikā, 112n
Saurāṣṭra, 12, 26, 27, 59, 117
Sauvīra, 4n
Sāvagapaḍikamaṇa-sutta, 32
School of Ancient West, 24n, 27, 28, 29
scroll-painting, 33
sculptures, 3, 4, 12, 14, 29, 31, 74
sealings, from Harappā, 65, 70
seals, from Mohen-jo-Ḍāro, 3, 41
from Harappā, 54
Serindia, 127
Shah, C. J., 7n
Shah, Priyabala, 56n, 54n, 58n
Shah, U. P., 4n, 5n, 11n, 14n, 16n, 17n, 19n, 21n, 24n, 26n, 34n, 52n, 56n, 83n, 111n, 121n
Shastri, Hirananda, 34n
shrine, 26, 28, 46, 47, 50, 52, 53, 56, 58, 61, 73, 74, 116, 117
shrines, tiered, 56
Siddha (s), 6, 97, 98, 121; images of, 91
Siddha-Cakra, 97-103; bronze of, 98
Siddha-Cakra-Yantra, 98, 100, 101, 102
Siddhāntasārādi-saṁgraha, 85n
Siddharāja, 31
Siddhārtha, 31, 105n
Siddhārtha, tree, 91
Siddhasena, 101, 102
Siddha-śilā, 97n
Siddhāyatana, 52, 53n, 54, 57, 58, 74n, 117, 118
Sīhanādika, 79, 80, 110
Sīha Vāṇika, 61, 114
sikkaka, 60
silā, 67, 69
Śīlāṅka-ācārya, 49
silā-paesa, 67

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Śilā-paṭa, Śilā-paṭṭa, 52, 69, 70, 71, 81, 82, 83, 84
sibiyā, 59n
Sīmandhara temple, 17
Śiṁhaniṣadyā-āyatana, 59
—caitya, 116f.
Siṁhapur, 15
siṁhāsana, 83
Sindh, 65n
Sindhu-Sauvīra, 4
Singhbhum district, 25
Sirkap, 9, 10n
Sirkap stūpa, 10n, 13, 64
Sirimā devatā, 7
Sirivaccha, 67, 109
Sirohi state, 16
Siri Sirivālakahā, 97n, 99n, 101, 102
Sittānnavāsal, 27, 94
Śiva, 3
Śivaghoṣaka, 77-78, 82
Śiva-liṅga, 62, 70, 126
Sivamitrā, 80
Śivanāga, sculptor, 16n
Śivayaśā, 9, 79
skambha, 62
Skanda, 40, 44, 49
Śmaśāna, 54, 125
—Āsura Prācya, 55, 57, 63
—Caitya, 47
—Daiva, 55, 57, 63
Smith, Vincent, A., 9n, 11n, 77n, 78, 79, 80, 81n, 82, 86n, 94n, 109, 110n
snātaka, 66
Śobhana, 85n, 87n
sogandhiyahatthagā, 67
Sohāgpur, 25
Sohamma Kappa, 53n
Somadeva, 63
Son-Bhaṇḍāra cave, 13, 14n, 17
Songaḍh, 27
sopāna, 127
sotthiya, 67, 109
Sphaṭikādri, 116
square terraced structures, 126
śrāvaka, 115, 121
Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, 95
śrāvikā, 115, 121
Śrī, 7, representations of, 106n, 108
Śrī-Lakṣmī, 106n
Sriṅgadhara, 29
Śrīpāla (Sirivāla), 101, 102
Srīpāla-rāsa, 33, 101
Śrī-Purāṇa, 89n
Śrī-sūkta, 7
Śrīvatsa, 9, 11, 13, 77, 79, 81, 82, 109, 110-112
Śrī-Vimalasvāmi, 101
Śruta, 98
sruva, 65
Stamhha(s), 43 ff, 53, 89
Statue(s), of Kaliṅga Jina, 6
of Bharata, 116
of brothers of Bharata, 116
Stein, A., 15
stepped pyramid, 123
Sthāna, 49
Sthānāṅga sūtra, 33, 40, 50, 53n, 74-94n, 107, 119
Sthāpanā, Sthāpanāchārya, 80, 84, 109, 110, 113-115
sthūṇā, 60, 62
Sthavira Acala, 30
stone umbrella, 111n
structures, tiered, 57
Stūpa, 9, 12, 13, 43ff, 49, 51, 52, 56, 79n, 81, 82, 93, 123-130
—description of, 127ff.; erected by Bharata, 59; at Mathurā, 12, 64; at Sirkap, 9, at Taxila, 64;
—of Ṛṣabha, 116; of Udena, Sattambaka and others, 55
—square or circular, 93n
—worship, 13, 79n, 81
Stuticaturviṁśatikā, 85n, 87n
Subāhucaritra, 33
Suciloma sutta, 66
—Jātaka, 70

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Śuci-vidyā, 100
Śuddhitattvam, 112n
Sudharmā sabhā, 53, 57, 59n, 60, 129, 130
suhagahatthagā, 67
Sukthankar, V. S., 10n
sulasa, tree, 74
Sultanganj Buddha (bronze), 16
Sumanasilā, 67, 69
Sumano Jakkho, 67
Sumana Yakṣa, 69
Sumer, 125
Sumerian, 124
Sumerian architecture, 123
—civilization, 128
Sun, 7, 39, 106
Śuṅga age, 70, 127
art, 77
period, 6, 11
Śuṅgas, 79
Suparṇa, 77
Supārśva, Supārśvanātha, Jina, 9, 12, 62, 63, 117
Supārśvanātha-caritra, 33
Supratiṣṭha, 111
Surat, 94, 117, 118
Sūri-mantra-paṭa, 34
Surohor, 25
Śūrpāraka (Sopāraka), 102
Sūryābhadeva, 129, 123
Sūtrakṛtāṅga-vṛtti. 33
Svapna, 108
Svastika, 11, 13, 39, 77, 81, 82, 86, 109, 110-112
Śvetāmbara (s), 11, 14, 20, 33, 58, 73, 74, 85, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 120, 121
—literature, 101; texts, 11
—manuscripts; 103
—partition, 74
—tradition, 74, 85, 105, 107
—worship, 93
Symbol Worship, 39 ff.

Tablet of Homage, 64
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 65
Taittirīya Saṁhitā (TS), 43, 65, 66n
Takṣaśilā, 10n
tāla-dhvaja, 60
Talājā. caves at, 13
Tamil epics, 89n
Tamil language, 51
Tantric practices, 16
—rites, 102
Tapa, 99, 100, 101
tāpasas, 116, 117
Tārānāth, 24, 27, 29, 64
Tāraṅgā Hill, 22
Taruṇaprabha sūri, 34
Tathāgata, 30
taṭibhuvah, 90
Taxila, 9, 10n, 64, 125
Tejapāl, 21, 22, 117
Temple-Cities, 26 ff.
terraced structure, 123 ff
Terracotta figurine, 8
Terracotta plaque, 51n, 70
tiered shrines, 123 ff
Thān, in Saurāṣṭra, 18
Thāṇā, 102
ṭhavaṇā, 113n, 114
ṭhavaṇāpiṇḍam, 113n
Theatre, 52, 57, 90
Thūbha, 58, 62
Thubhiya, 57
Tibet, 3
Tilaka-ratna, 77, 78, 79
Tiloyapaṇṇatti, 60, 71, 74, 89n, 93n, 111n
Tirumalai, 94
tīrtha, 88, 97n, 116, 117
Tīrthaṅkara (s), 4, 5, 9-11, 14, 19, 27, 40, 52-54, 58, 59, 61, 72-74, 85, 97n, 98, 105, 106, 117, 119
Tiruparuttikuṇṛam, 85n, 94n, 120
tisovāṇapaḍrūvaga, 130
Toraṇa (s), 9, 18, 55, 64n, 79, 86, 90, 93, 129
—dvāras, 89, 90

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Torso, 5
Tower of Babel, 123 ff.
Transitional period, 16 ff
Trāyastriṁśa gods, 48
Tree (s), 21, 47-49, 67-72, 73
—cult, 73, 74
—Holy, 53, 65
—of Life, 47, 75
—sacred, 66, 69
—spirits, 66, 74
—worship, 47, 64 ff, 66n, 74, 83
Tribhaṅga, 31
Tribhuvanadīpaka Caumukha Jinālaya, 22
Trikāṇḍaśeṣa-kaśa, 47
Trilokasāra, 119n
trimekhalā, 60
trimekhalam, 90, 91
triple platforms, 60
triple-stair, 130
triple-umbrellas, 60, 88, 90
Tripuri, 25
tri-ratna, 79, 81, 82, 109, 110
Triśalā, 105
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, 75, 82n, 85, 86n, 107n, 109n, 111n, 116n, 119n, 120n.
trisopāna, 130
triśūla, 61
triśūla-horned deity, 65
Triśūla caves, 7, 18, 24
Tumburu, 87
Tumburu, tree, 74
turrukka, 56
turrets. 27

Udaipur state, 23
Udayagiri caves, Gwalior, 25
Udayagiri caves, Orissa, 6 ff, 27
Udayagiri Hill, 6, 27
uddhāra, 117
Uddāyaṇa, 4
Udena, 48, 55
uddisaka-cetiyam, 48
udyāna, 54, 55, 67, 72
Udyota Kesari's cave, 26
Ujāni, 25
Ujjain, 4
umbrella (s) (chhatra, chhatta), 55, 60, 67, 71, 91, 111n
Un, 23
Unchchhera state, 18
Upadeśamālā-vṛtti, 33
Upādhyāya, 97, 98
Upadhye, A. N., 63
Upāsakadaśāṅga sūtra, 40
uppalahatthagā, 67
Ur, 123 ff
Ur-Nammu, 123 ff, 130
Uttarādhyayana Laghu-vṛtti, 33
Uttarādhyayana, miniatures of, 33
Uttarādhyayana sūtra, 54
Uttarakurus, 75
Uttarāpatha, 115n
Uttara Pradesh (U. P.), 20, 21
Uvāsagadasāo, 40n, 53n

vaddhamāṇaga, 67, 109n
Vādī Kumudacandra, 99, 100
Vāgbhaṭa, 108
vāhanas, 62
Vaibhāra hill, 14, 17
Vaijayantī, 79, 80
Vaimānika gods, 87
Vairadeva, 14
Vaiśālī, 9, 55, 62, 71
Vaiṣṇdva cave, 14
Vaiśravaṇa, 44, 61
Vajrasvāmī, 14, 100, 102
Vajrasena, 102
Valabhī, 16
Valabhī Vācanā, 52
Vālmīki, 47
vanakhaṇḍa, 56, 67, 83
vana-vedikā, 91
Vānavyantaras, 86
Vāmana, 89n
Vāmana Purāṇa, 112

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Vanaspati, 65
vāpī, 87, 89, 90, 91
vapra, 87
Varakhāṇā, 117
varāṭaka, 113
Varddhamāna, 78, 79, 81n, 119
Varddhamāna temple, 94
Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, 82n, 121n
Varddhamānaka, 109, 110-112
Varavān, 22
Vārisena, 119
varṇaka, 60n, 68
Vasantagaḍh, 16, 17, 19, 28, 29
varṣasthala, 127
Vāsavadattā, 7
Vāsiṣka, 9
Vastupāla, 21, 27, 34, 117
Vasubindu-Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha, 58n
Vāsudeva, 40, 60, 61, 107
Vasu, daughter of Loṇaśobhikā, 9, 81, 83, 84
Vasudevahiṇḍi, 4, 10n, 59n, 67, 69, 85n, 87n, 116, 121n
Vaṭa, 74
Vaṭa Gohāli, 15
Vatsarāja, 18
Vāyukumāras, 86
Vedas, 72
Vedic Aryans, 72
—cayana, 49
—literature, 41, 43, 112
—rituals, 72
—sacrifices, 40, 41, 45, 60
—traditions, 60n
vedikā, 55, 57, 91
Viennot, Odettee, 66n, 69n, 70n
viḍambaka, 56
Vidiśā, 4
Vidyādevi (s), 22, 31, 99, 102n
Vidyādhara, 57
Vidyādhara, kula, 102
Vidyānupravāda-pūrvva, 100
Vijayā, 87
Vijaya deva, 57
Vijayasena sūri, 33
Vijñaptipatras, 33f, 111
Vikrama, 80n
Vimala Sāha, 21, 26
Vimala Vasahi, 21, 94
Vindhyas, 3
Vindhya Pradesh, 25
Vinītā, 10n
Vipāka Sūtra, 50, 55
Vipulagiri, 85n
Vīrabhadra, 53n
Vīras, 102n
Viśālā (Vesālā), 55, 62
Viśeṣāvaśyaka—Mahābhāṣya, 113n
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 93n, 110n, 126
Viṣṇusena, 85n
Viśvaprakāśa-kośa, 47
Vītabhaya-pattana, 4
Vitardikā, 55
vīthi, 89
Vivāgasuyam, 114n
Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa, 9n, 12, 62n, 85n, 117n
Vodva Stūpa, 12
Vogel, J. Ph., 9n, 80n
votive columns, 60
Vṛddha Gautama, 66n
vṛkṣa (s) 41, 49
Vyākhyānamudrā, 98
Vyantara (s), 50, 74, 85-89
—āyatana, 50
Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya, 12n
water-jar, 82
Western Indian School, 27, 34
Western miniatures, paintings, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34
Western style, 29, 30
Wheel of Law, 77, 115
Wooden book-covers, 31, 34, 106
Woolley, Leonard, 123 ff
Worship, 48
—of Jina image, 5,39; of caityas, 52, 95; of Dharmacakra, 64; of

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Nāgas, 41; of trees, 65, 66, 83; of Yakṣas, 5, 41, 95
Yajñāyatana, 45
Yajña-śālās, 52
Yajña-sthāna, 43-45, 47, 49, 54
Yājñavalkya, 47, 66
Yajñīya caityas, 52
Yajñīya cityas, 52
Yajurveda Saṁhitā, 65
Yakkha cetiya, 67
Yakkha's haunt, 66
Yākinī, 102
Yakṣa (s), 4, 12, 17, 19, 20, 22, 40, 41, 44, 49, 51, 54, 67, 69, 70, 72-74, 88, 93, 102n, 119
Yakṣa-āyatana, 40, 55, 70
—artists, 64
—cult, 5, 41, 73, 83
—images, 5
—Māṇibhadra, 55
—Mudgarapāṇi, 51, 70
—Sumana, 67, 69
—shrines, 40, 56, 128
—statues, 5, 52
—torso, 8
—worship, 5, 52n, 70, 74, 75, 95
Yakṣī, Ambikā, 17
Yakṣiṇīs, 18, 19, 22, 61, 99, 102n
Yama, 65
Yāna-Vimāna, 129, 130
Yantra-puruṣa, 59
Yaśastilaka-Campū, 63
yaṣṭi. 127
Yavanapura, 34, 35
Yavana ruler, 7
Yavana warrior, 8
Yoga-Śāstra, 100
Yogī, 16
Yonaka, 10n
Yūpa, 45, 46, 60

Ziggurat, 56, 123-130

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ERRATA

Page	*line*	*read*	*for*
3	11	Kuśāṇa	Kuśāna
11	9	scenes on sides of	scenes of
14	(ft. n. 4)	Archaeology In Gwalior	Archæological Museum, Gwalior
21	30	*kīcaka*	*kicaka*
26	6	Indian Museum	Paṭnā Museum
26	(f. n. 2-3)	Cousens	cousens
27	29	Kramrisch	Kramrich
31	11	earliest	earlist
35	7	the exquisitely painted Jaunapur manuscript	such an exquisitely painted manuscript
43	27	*citte bhavah*	*citte bhava*
44	13	Āryā	Aryā
44	(ft. n. 3)	हवींष्युच्चैराह्वयन्	हवींष्युच्चैराहव्यन्
		देवसंङ्घान्	देवसंघान्
,,	,,	मन्त्रवित्	मंत्रवित्
,,	,,	चैत्यथूपाङ्किता	चैत्यथूपांकिता
,,	,,	तैरङ्किता	तैरंकिता
45	5	sixth century B.C.	sixth century
50	18	मङ्गलं	मंगलं
52	32	Maṇipīṭhikā	Maṇipīṭhaka
54	12	संज्ञाशब्द	संज्ञाशद्व
54	16	upacāra	upacra
55	25	red gośīrṣa	red giśirśa
57	18	*śarabha*	*sarabha*
59	9	Āvaśyaka	Avaśyaka
60	25	Saṅkarṣaṇa	Śaṅkarṣaṇa
61	2	Vaiśravaṇa	Vaiṣramaṇa
63	(f. n. 3)	क्वचित्पञ्च	क्वचित्पंच
64	5	Jinaprabha	Jinapratha
65	12	*samidh*	*samidha*

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66	3	Pariśiṣṭa	Parisiṣṭa
66	(f. n. 1)	देवीरुप	देवीरूप
70	35	upamās	upamas
71	7	Kauśāmbī	Kuśāmbī
71	13	Caitya	Ceitya
71	(f. n. 2)	मूर्ध्ना	मूर्धा
74	(f. n. 1)	*Samavāyāṅga*	*Samvāyāṅga*
78	16	Set up by wife of	Set up by one
91	24, 25	peacocks, lotus	peacock, figures lotus
93	18	surrounding	surroundig
101	9	Namaskāra-valaya	Namāskara-valaya
106	(f. n. 4)	Jñāna-mandir	Jñāna-mandri
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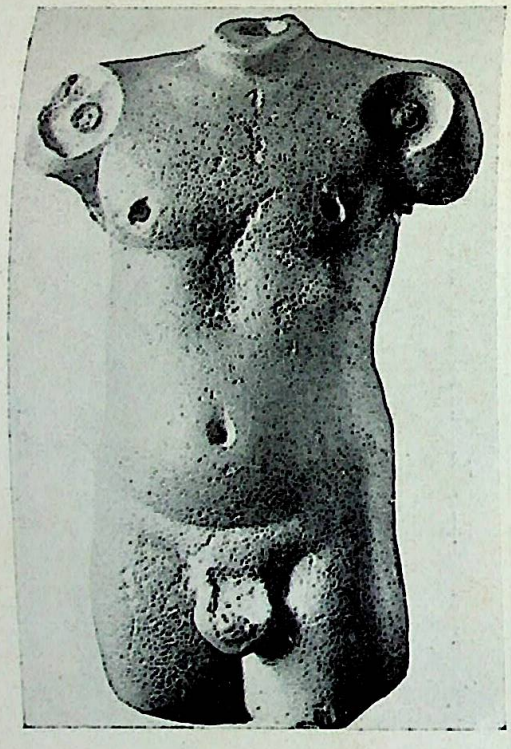

Fig. 1
Statuette, Harappa

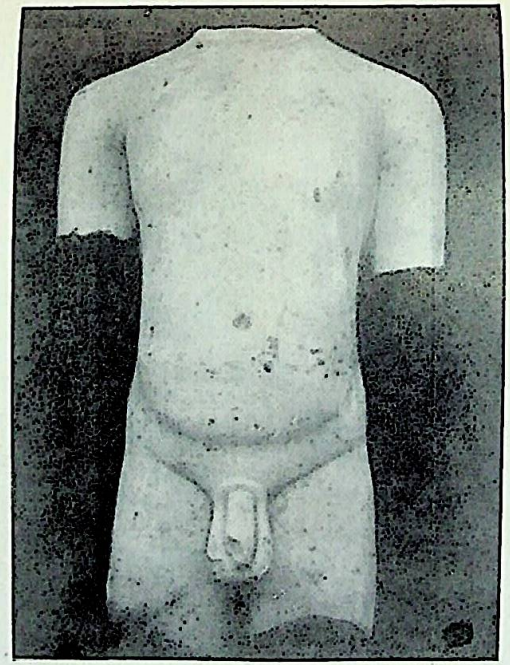

Fig. 2
Polished Torso of a Tīrthankara
Lohānipur
(Patna Museum)

Fig. 3
Pārśvanātha
(Prince of Wales Museum)

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Fig. 4 Frieze, Rānī Gumphā, Orissa

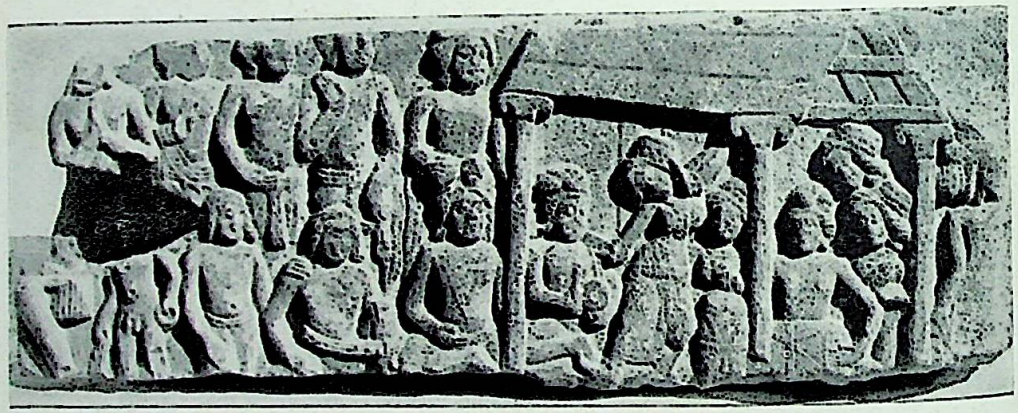

Fig. 5 Dance of Nīlāñjanā, Mathurā (Lucknow Museum)

Fig. 6 Worship of Stūpa, Mathurā (Lucknow Museum)

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Plate III

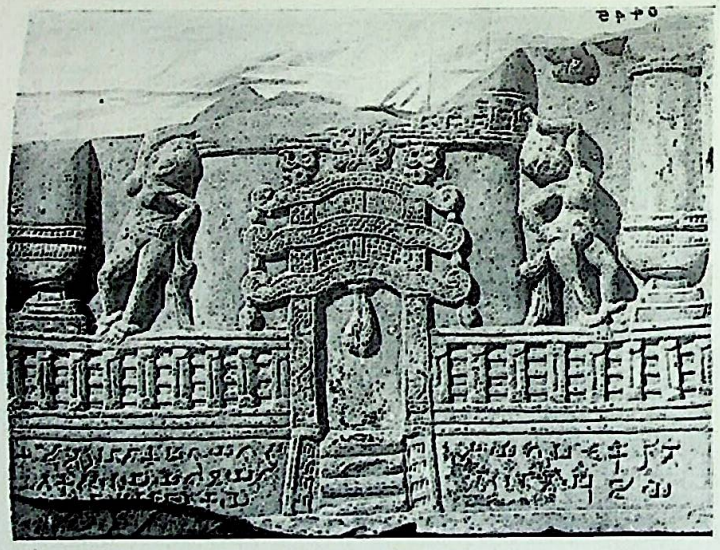

Fig. 7 Āyāgapaṭa of Śivayaśā, Mathurā (Tablet IV)

Fig. 8 Pedestal of Munisuvrata, installed in Vodva Stūpa.

Fig. 9 Pedestal of an image showing worship of Dharmacakra
Kankālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā

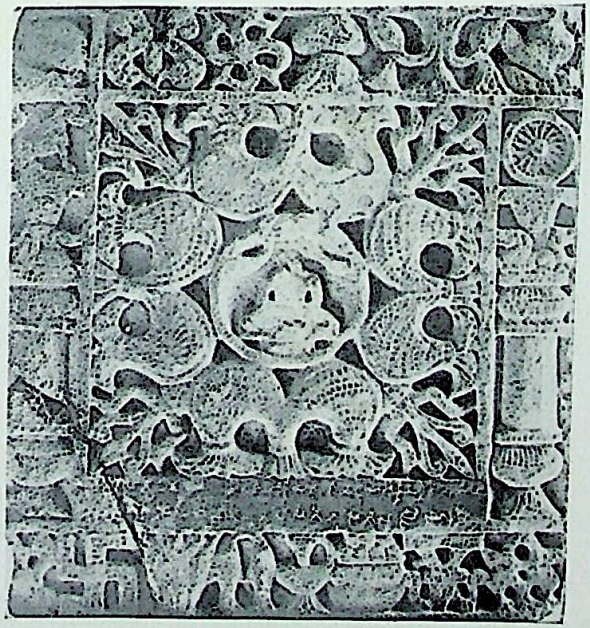

Fig. 10 Āyāgapaṭa of Bhadranandi (Tablet IX)

Figs. 7-8-9-10 Mathurā (Lucknow Museum)

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Fig. 11 Āyāgapaṭa of unknown donor, Mathurā (Tablet VIII)

Fig. 12 Āyāgapaṭa of wife of Śivaghoṣaka, Mathurā (Tablet II)

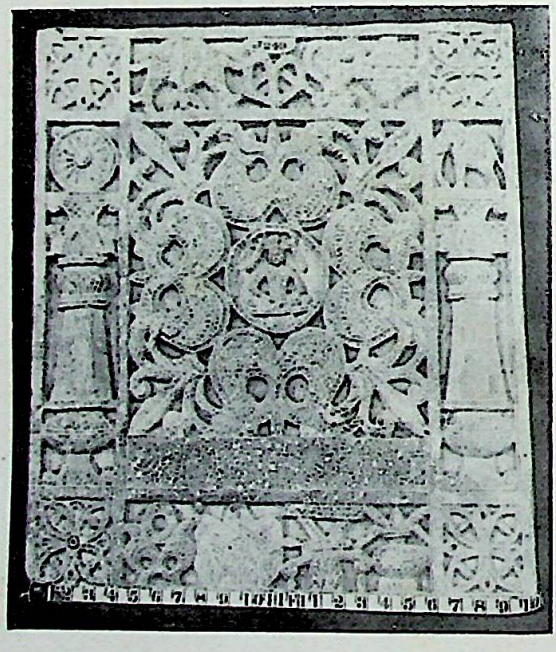

Fig. 13 Āyāgapaṭa of Sīhanādikā, Mathurā (Tablet V)

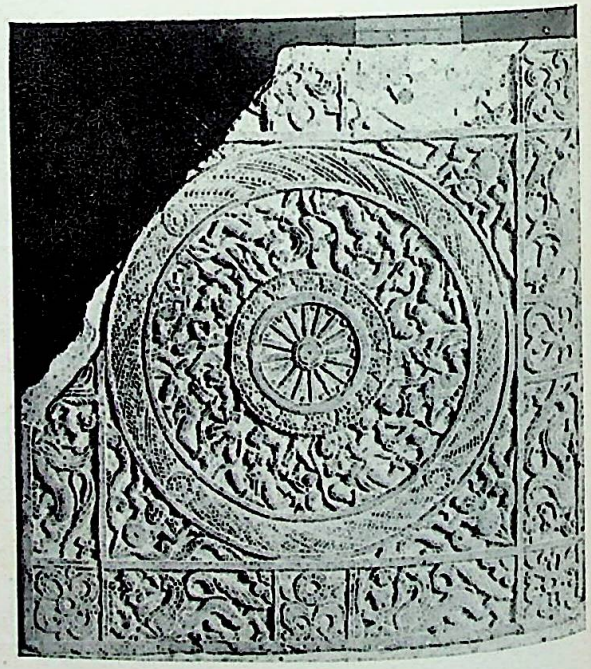

Fig. 14 Āyāgapaṭa of an inhabitant of Mathurā (Tablet I)

Figs. 11, 12, 13, 14 now in Lucknow Museum.

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Fig. 14B Āyāgapaṭa set up by Vasu, daughter of Loṇaśobhikā (Tablet III, Mathurā Museum)

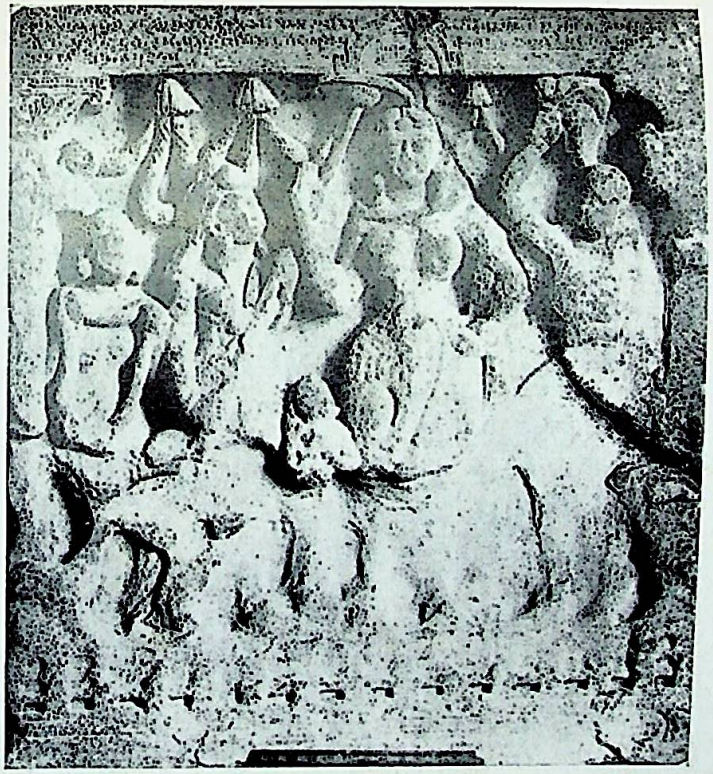

Fig. 14A Paṭa of Āryavatī, set up by Āmohini, Mathurā Mathurā (Tablet VII, Lucknow Museum)

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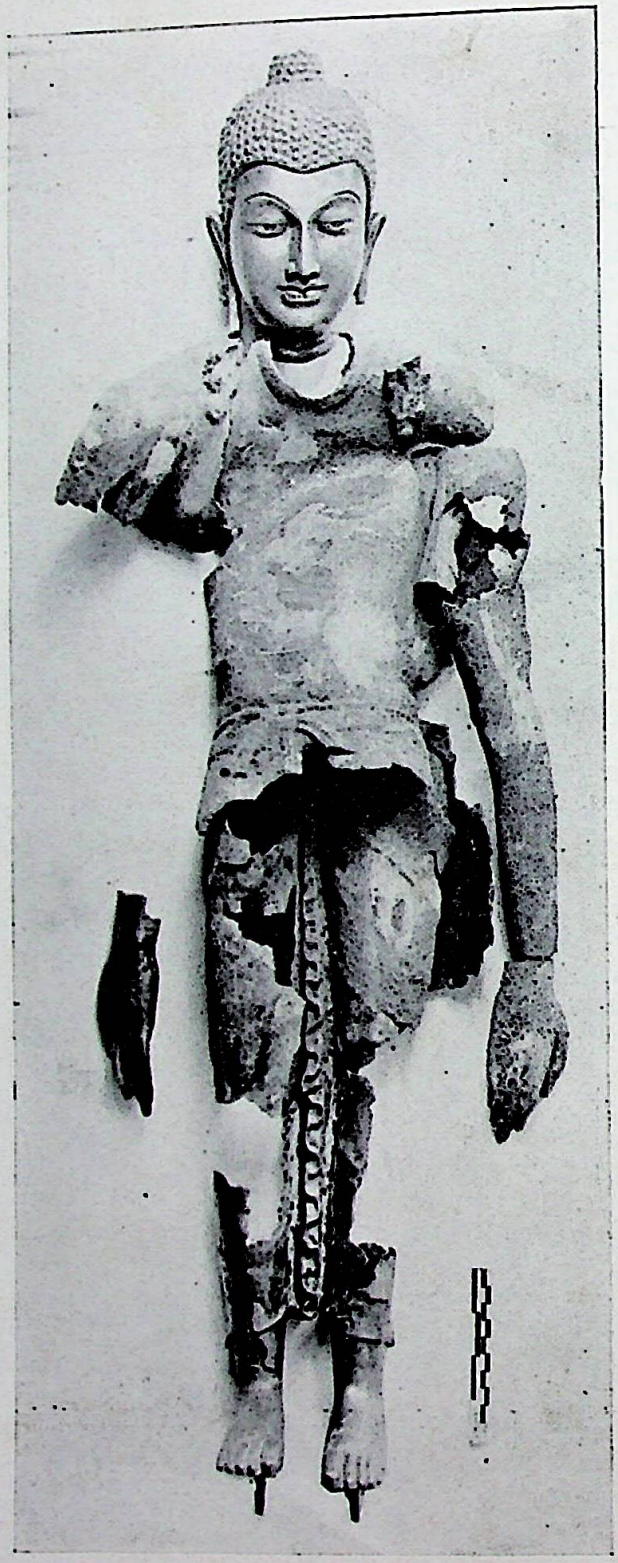

Fig. 19 Ṛṣabhanātha, Bronze, Akoṭā
(Baroda Museum)

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Fig. 20 Jīvantasvāmī, Bronze, Akoṭā (Baroda Museum) Fig. 21

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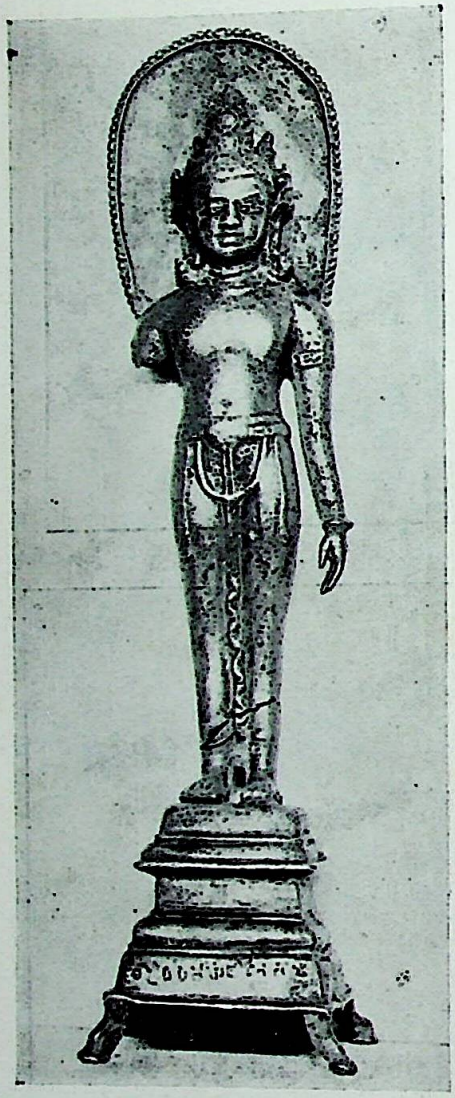

Fig. 22 Jīvantasvāmī, inscribed Bronze, Akoṭa (Baroda Museum)

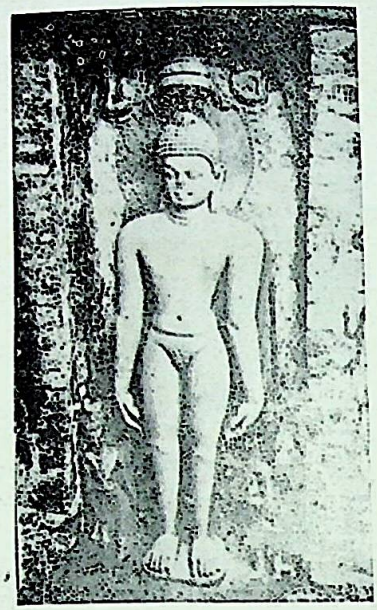

Fig. 23 Standing Jina, Rājgir

Fig. 24 Standing Jina, Besnagar (Gwalior Museum)

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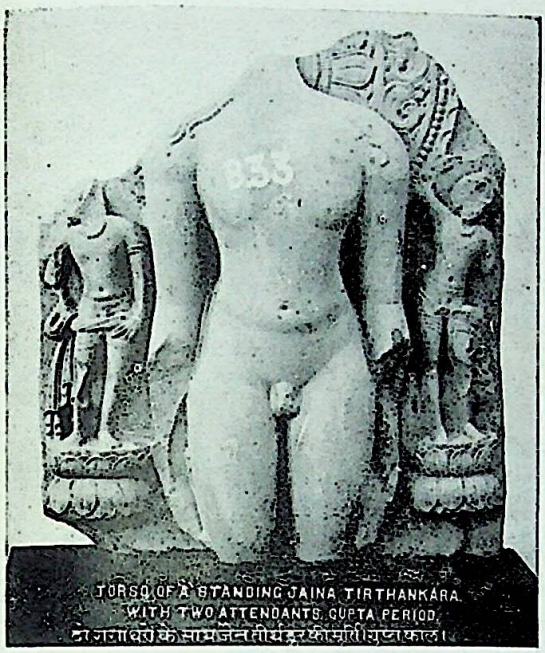

Fig. 25 Torso of a Jina, Gup'a age, Mathurā
(Mathurā Museum)

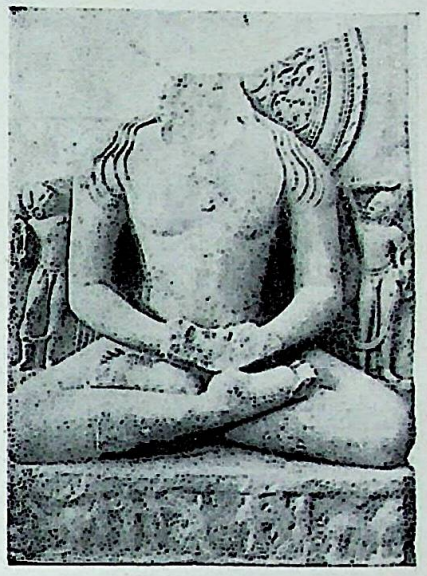

Fig. 26 Ṛṣabhanātha, Mathurā
(Mathurā Museum)

Fig. 27 Ṛṣabhanātha, Mathurā
(Mathurā Museum)

Fig 28 Chaumukha, showing figure of Sambhavanātha, Son Bhaṇḍāra Cave, Rājgir

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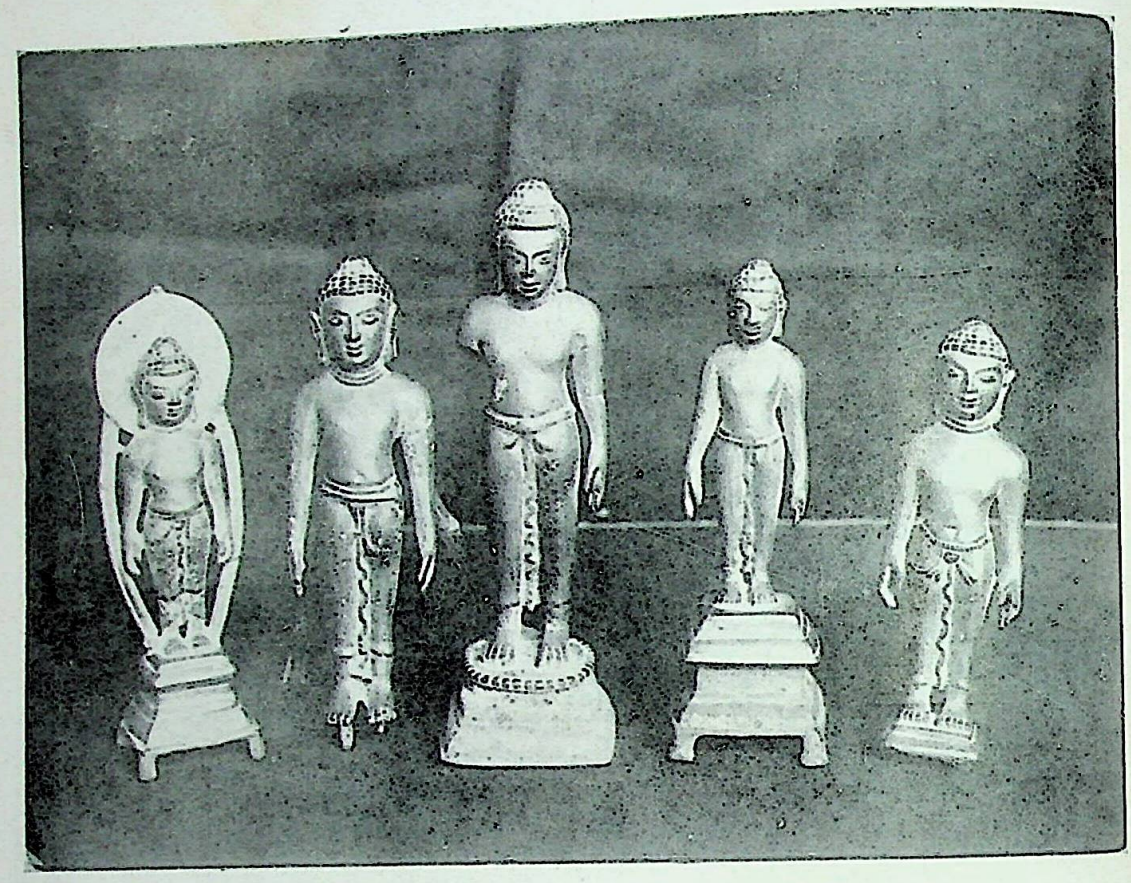

Fig. 29 Five Bronzes from Valabhī, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

Fig. 30 Ṛṣabhanātha installed in Samvat 744, Vasantagaḍh hoard (Piṇḍavāḍā)

Fig. 31 Standing Jina, Dhānk

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Fig. 32 Sarasvatī, Vasantagaḍh hoard, Piṇḍavāḍā

Fig. 33 Chaurī-bearer, Bronze, Akoṭā (Baroda Museum)

Fig. 34 Sarasvatī, Bronze, Akoṭa (Baroda Museum)

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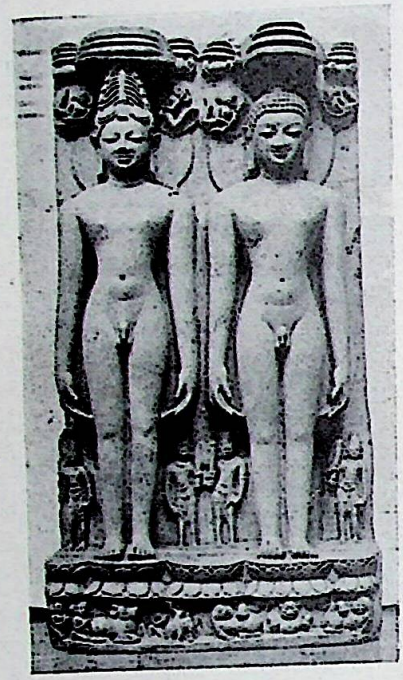

Fig. 35 Ṛṣabhanātha & Mahāvīra, British Museum, London

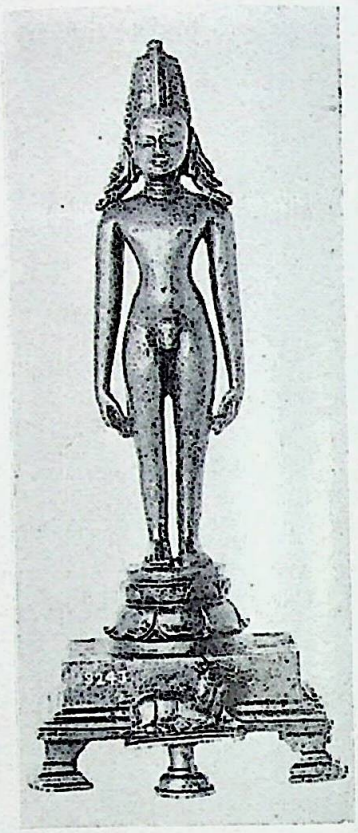

Fig. 36 Ṛṣabhanātha, Bronze, Kakatpur, Orissa (Indian Museum)

Fig. 37 Chovisī of Adinātha, Surohor Dināpur District

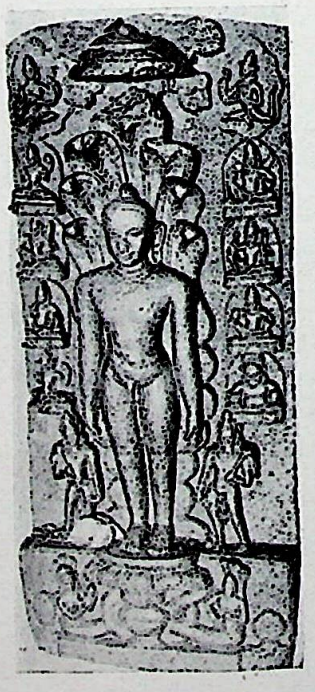

Fig 38 Pārśvanātha, Bānkurā, Buhalārā

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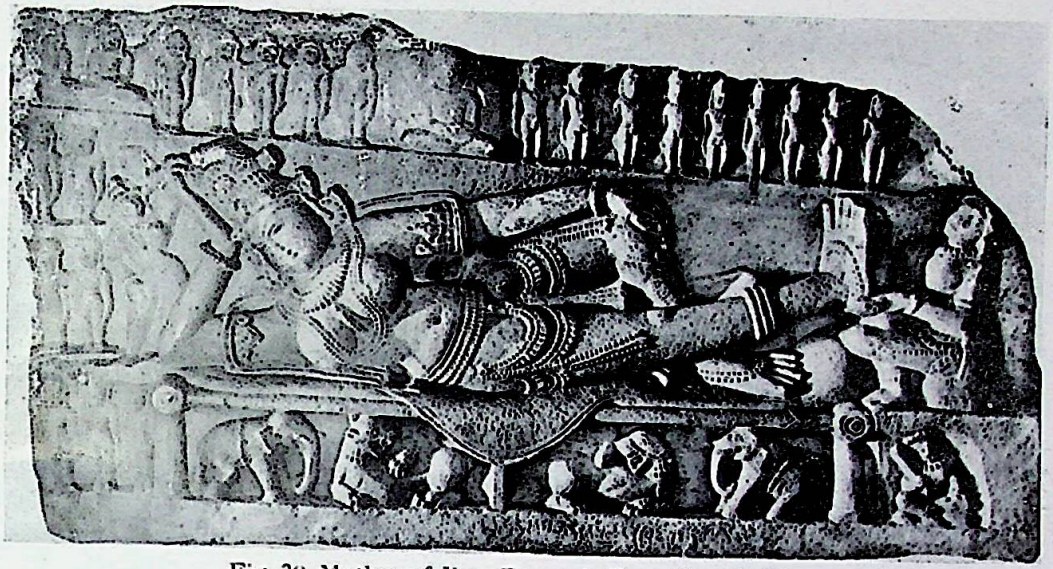

Fig. 39 Mother of Jina, Deogarh Fort, Temple No. 4

Fig. 40 Kubera (?) Yakṣa, Khajurāho

Fig. 41 Padmāvatī (?) Nalanda

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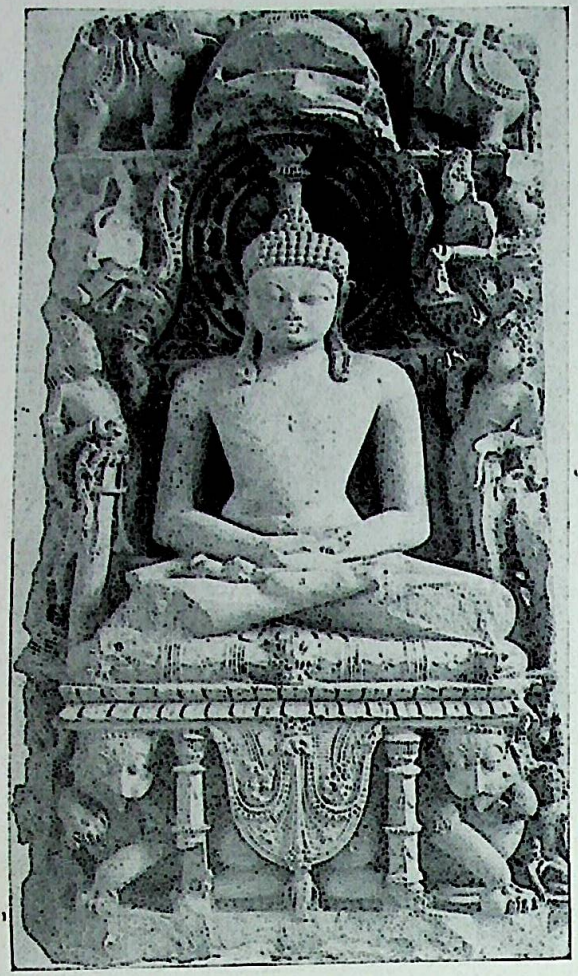

Fig. 42 Ṛṣabhanātha from Tripuri
(Indian Museum)

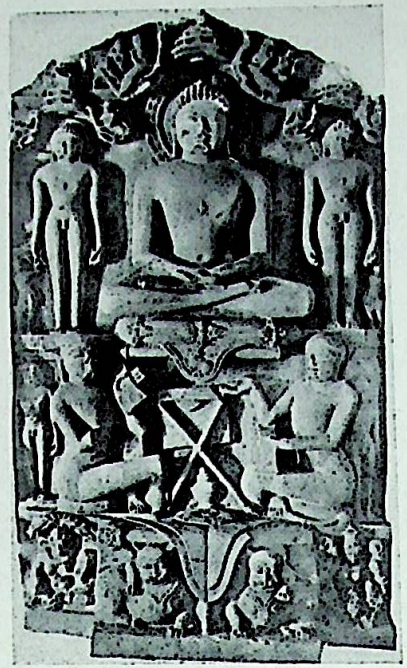

Fig. 43 Ṛṣabhanātha, Deogarh
Fort, Temple No. 4

Fig. 44 Chandraprabha from Bihar
(Indian Museum)

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Fig. 45 Parents of Jina, Khajuraho

Fig. 46 Male and Female under tree, Devagarh Fort

Fig. 47 Kṣetrapāla, Devagarh Fort

Fig. 48 Image of Nanna-sūri, d. 1393 V.S., Sādaḍī, Mārvāḍ

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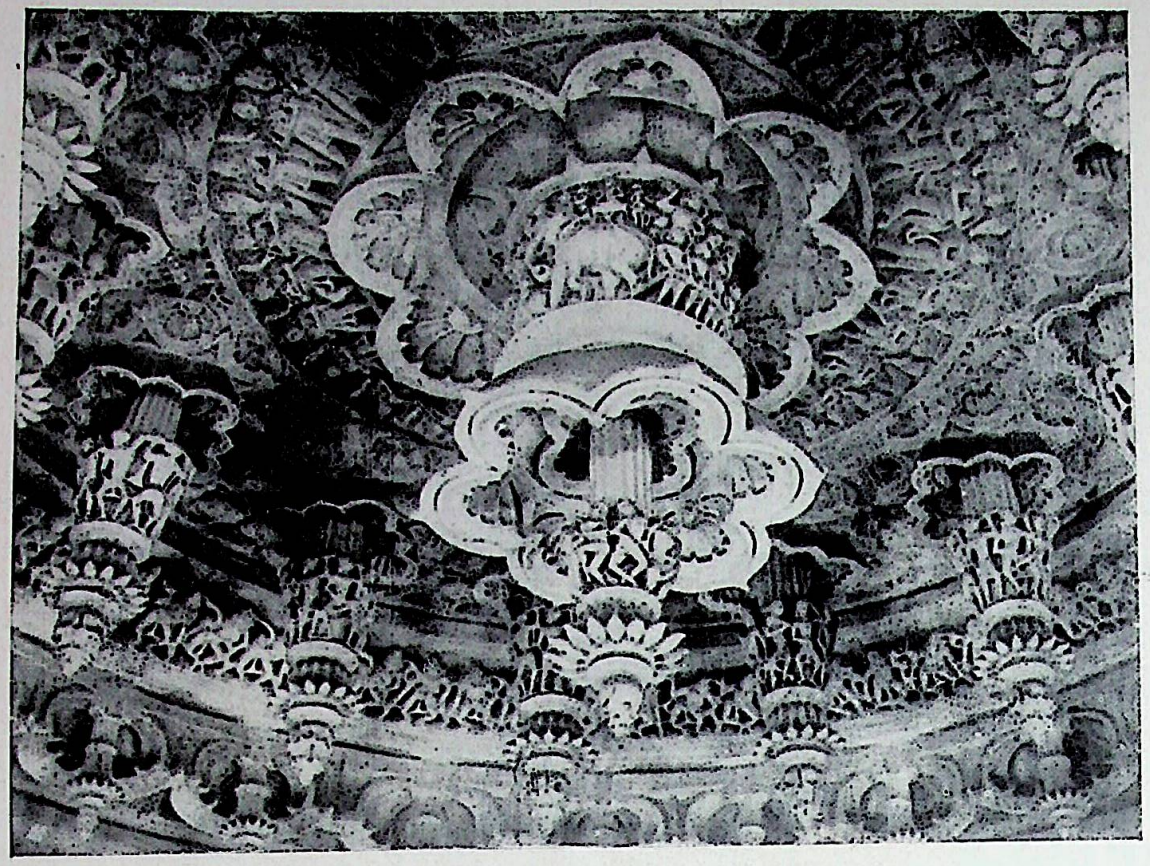

Fig. 49 Lotus pendent, Sabhā-Maṇḍapa, Vimala-Vasahī, Abu

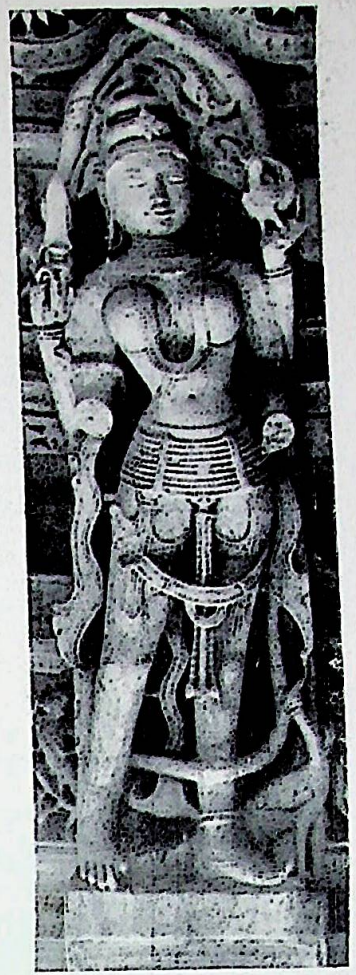

Fig. 50 Prajñapti
Vidyādevī, Sabhā-Maṇḍapa,
Vimala Vasahī, Abu

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Plate XIX

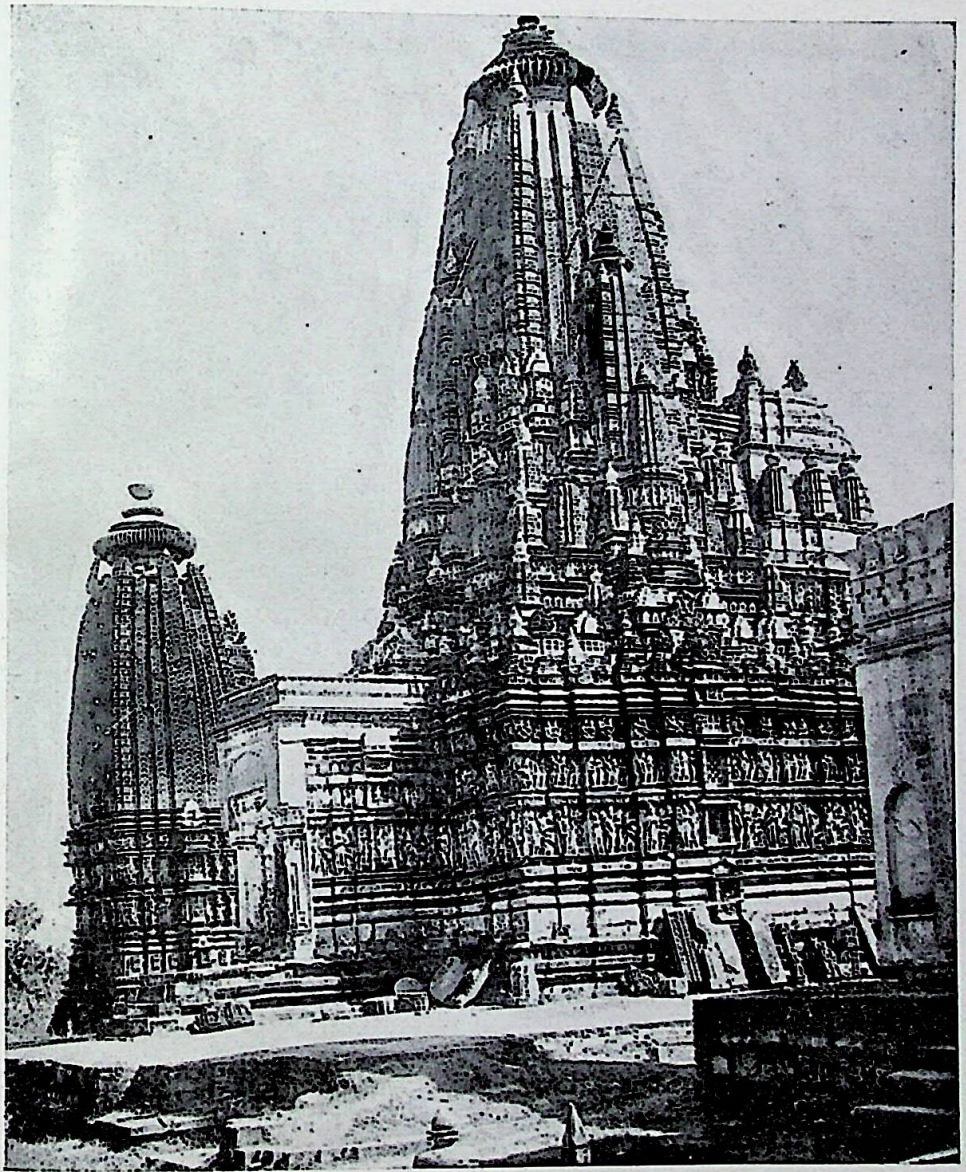

Fig. 51 Two Jaina Temples, Khajurāho

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Plate XX

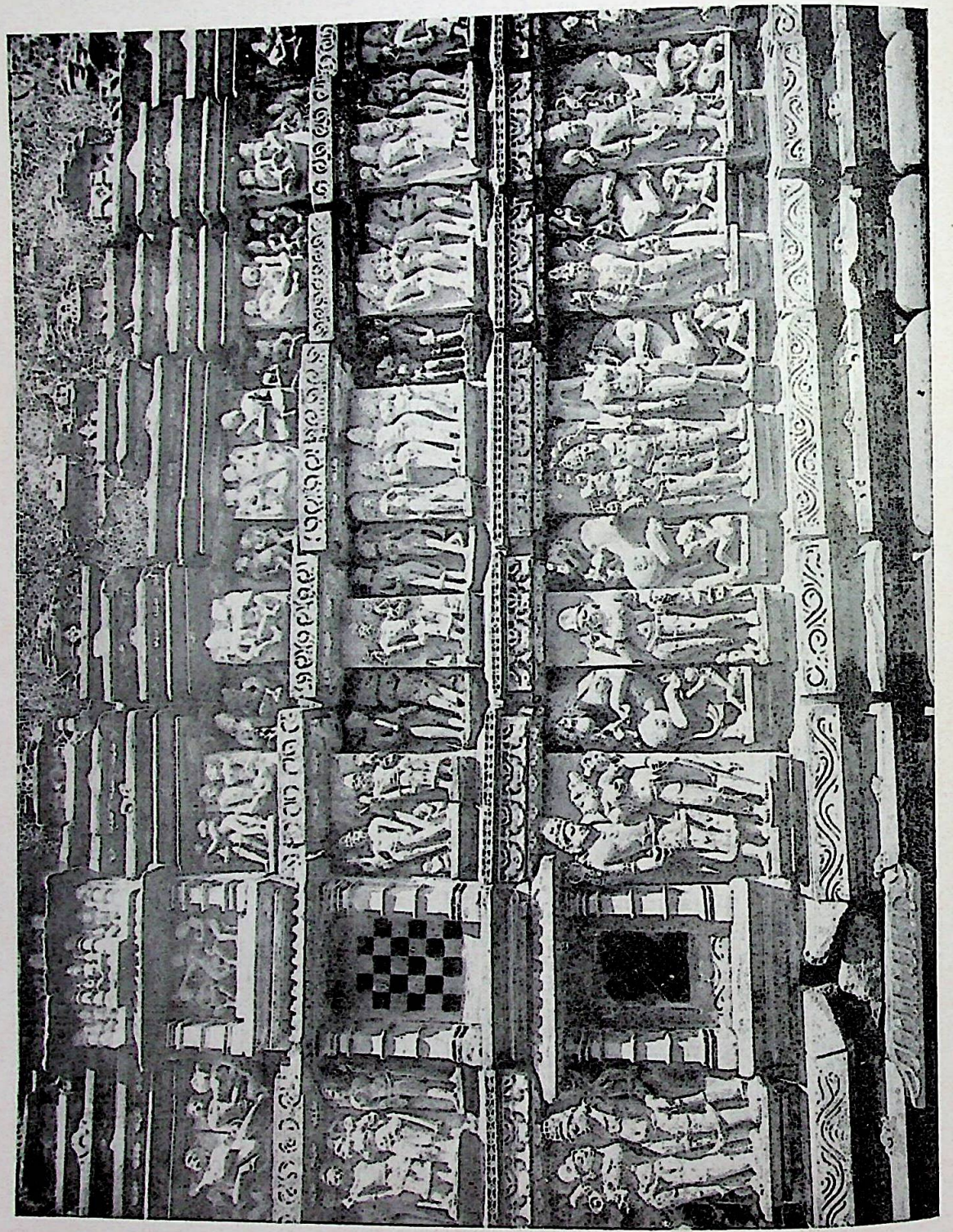

Fig. 52 Jaina Temple of Pārśvanātha, Sculptures, South facade, Khajurāho

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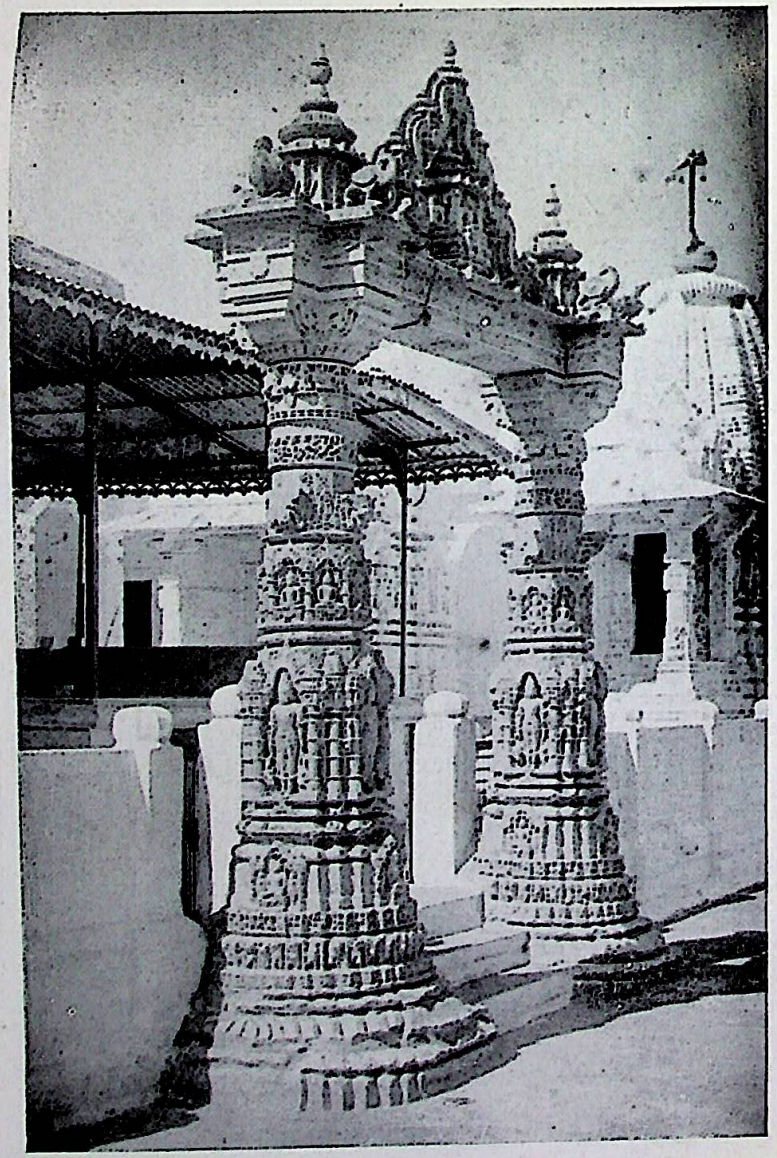

Fig. 53 Toraṇa, Jaina temple Ośiā

Fig. 54 Vajrāṅkuśī, Vidyādevī, Vimala Vasahī, Abu

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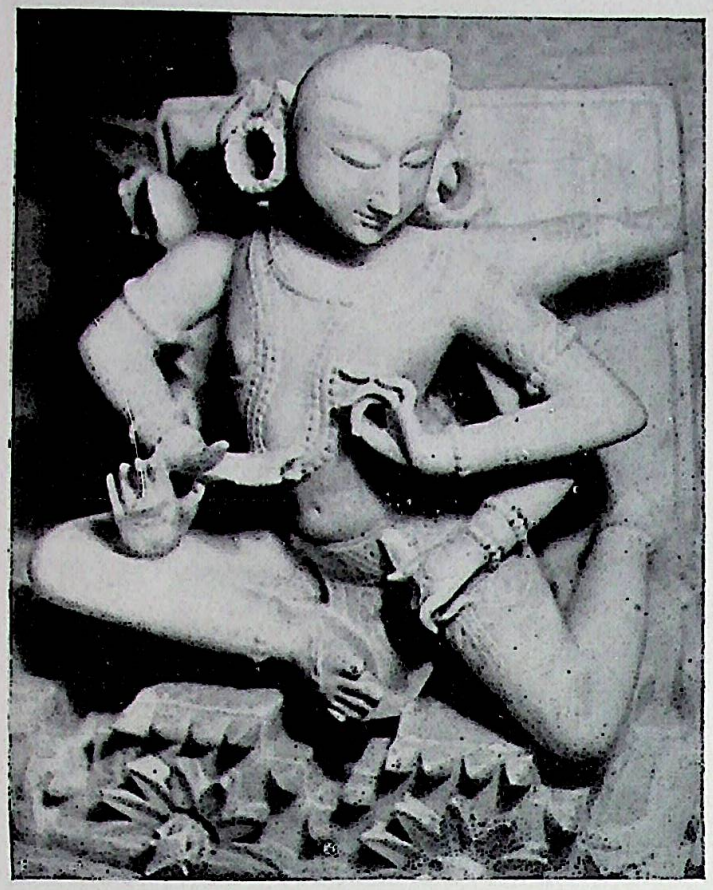

Fig. 55 Kīcaka-dwarf, Pillar, Lūṇa Vasahī, Abu

Fig. 56 Pillar, Temple No. 12, Devagaṛh Fort

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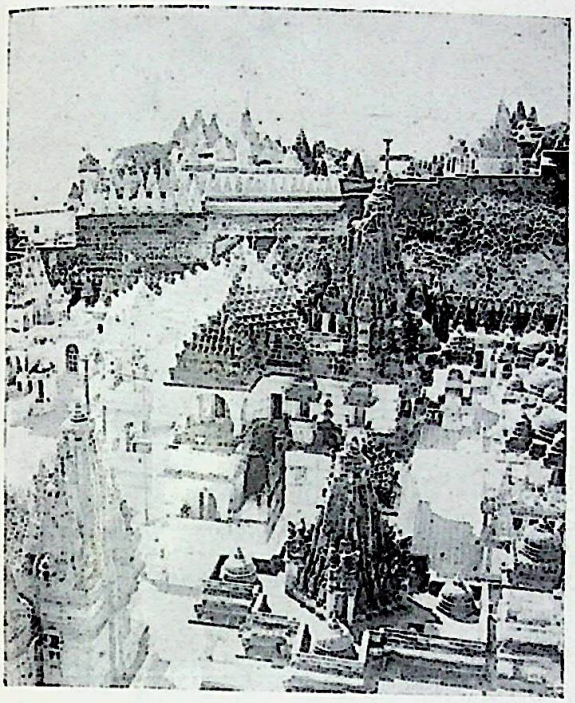

Fig. 57 Temples, Śatruñjaya

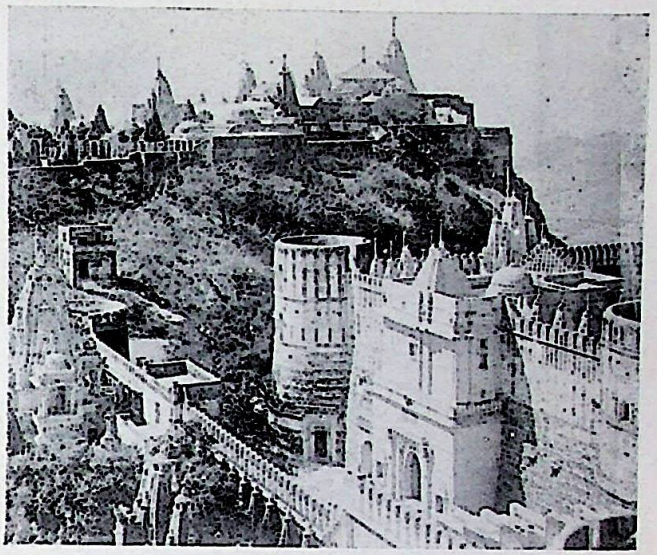

Fig. 58 Temples, Śatruñjaya

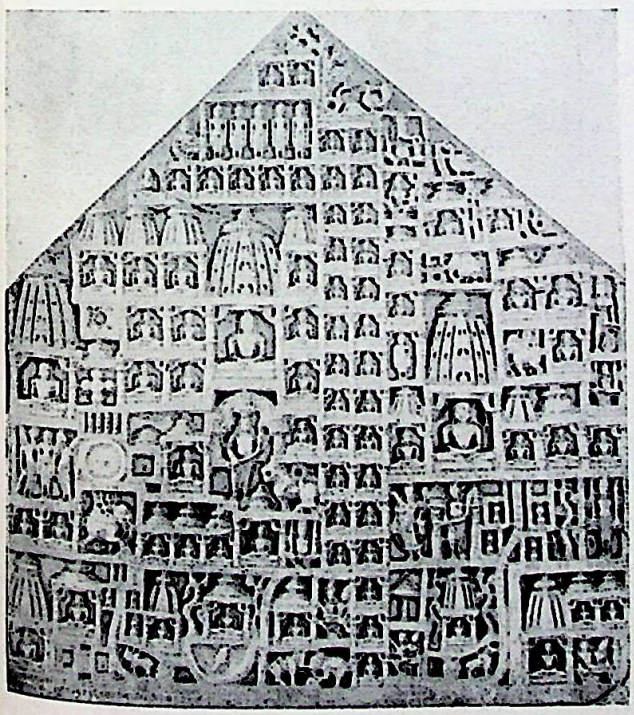

Fig 59 Śatruñjaya-Girnār-Paṭṭa, Rāṇakpur

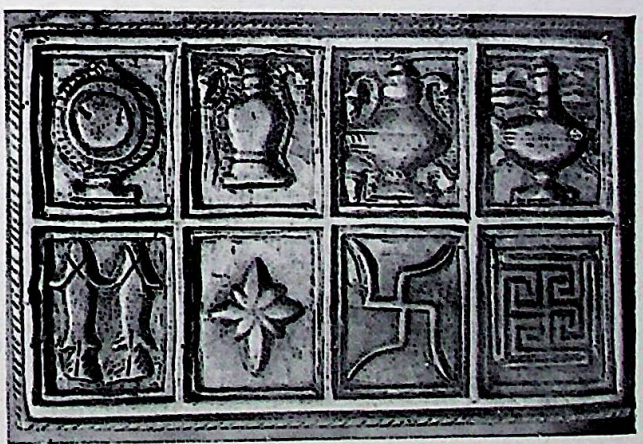

Fig. 60 Aṣṭamaṅgala-Plaque, Bronze, Baroda

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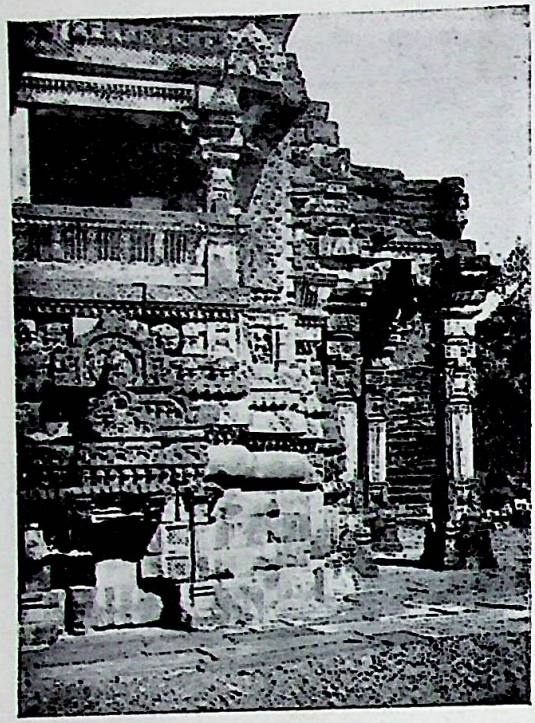

Fig. 61 Porch etc., Mālādevī temple, Gyāraspur, Madhya Bharat

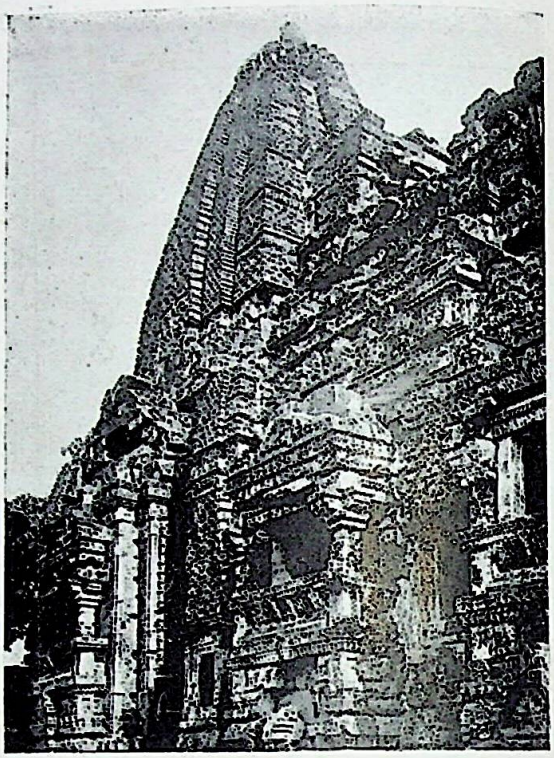

Fig. 62 Śikhara of Mālādevī temple, Gyāraspur, Madhya Bharat

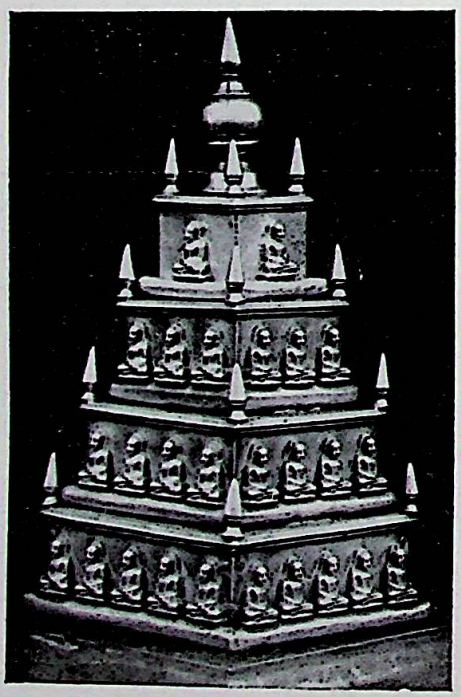

Fig. 63 Nandīśvara bimba, Jaina temple, Kolhapur

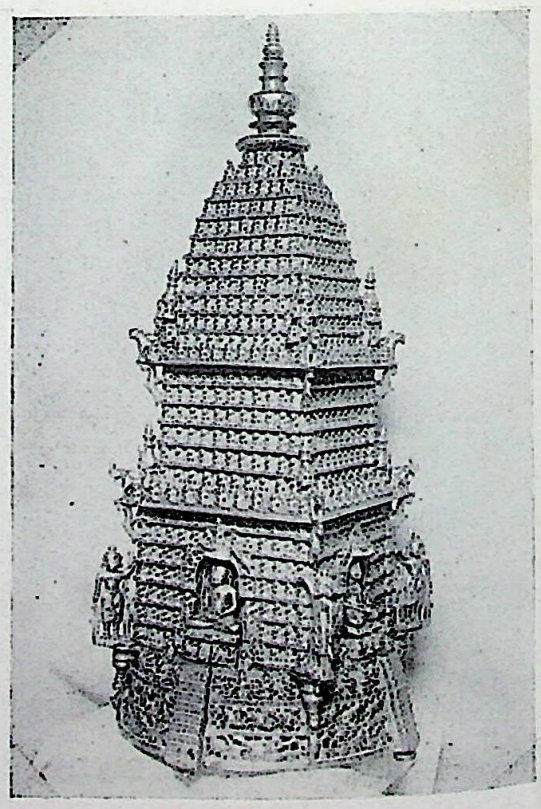

Fig. 64 Sahasrakūṭa Sculpture, Bronze, Pāṭan

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Fig. 65 Jina, Palm-Leaf Ms., Niśītha Cūrṇi, d. 1182 V. S., Cambay

Fig. 66 Sarasvatī, Palm-Leaf Ms., Niśītha Cūrṇi, Cambay

Fig. 67 Lintel, Mathurā Museum, Showing Śīva-liṅga under a Caitya-tree

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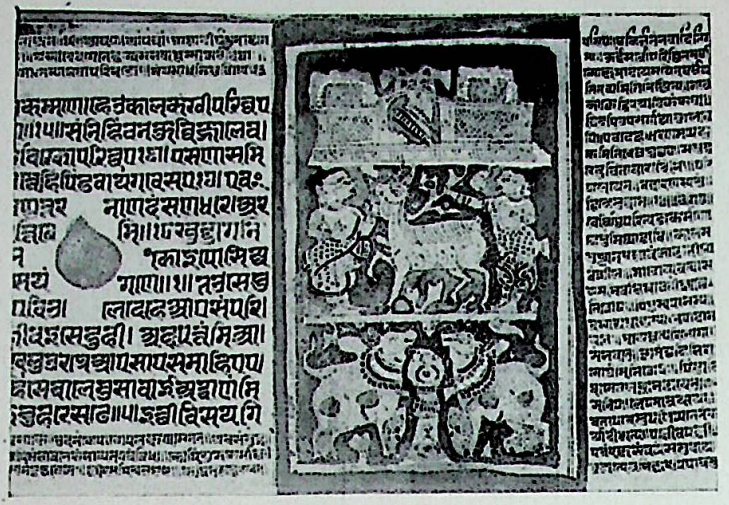

Fig. 68 Miniature Painting, Ms. of Uttarādhyayana-sātra, Shri Hamsavijaya Collection, Baroda

Fig. 69 Prajñapti-Vidyādevī, Miniature on Palm-leaf, Jaina Bhaṇḍāra, Chāṇī

Fig. 70 Miniature of Lakṣmī, Upadeśamālā Ms., Cambay

Fig. 71 Miniature of Mahiṣamarddinī, Palm-leaf Ms. Upadeśamālā-laghu-vṛtti, Jaina Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay

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Fig. 72 Rock-cut Jina under big Caitya-tree Kalugumalai

Fig. 73 Jina under big Caitya-tree, Paṭan

Fig 74 Caumukha Sculpture, Terahi, Madhy Bharat

Fig. 75 Jina under big tree, Dig. Jaina temple, Surat

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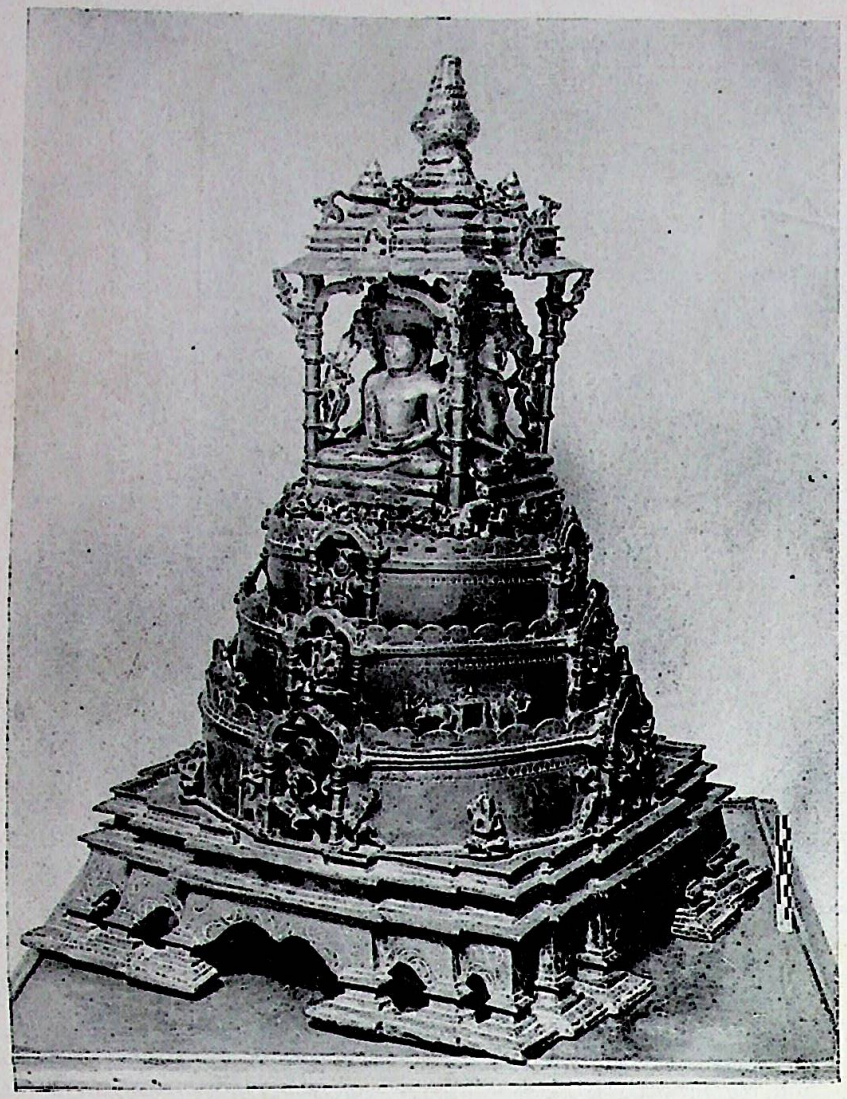

Fig. 76 Samavasaraṇa, Big Bronze, C. 1065 A. D., Surat

Fig. 77 Nava-Devatā (Dig.), Jina-kāñchī

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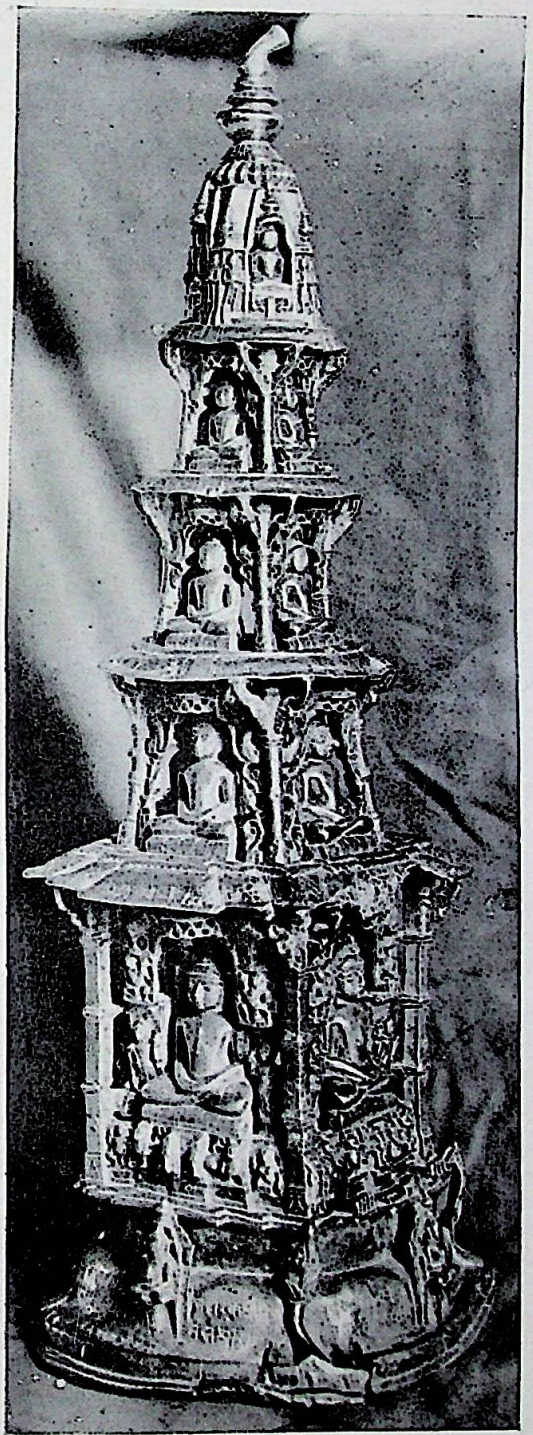

Fig. 78
Pañca-Meru, Digambara Shrine, Surat

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Fig. 79 Sahasraphaṇā-Pārśvanātha, Rāṇakpur, South Rājasthān

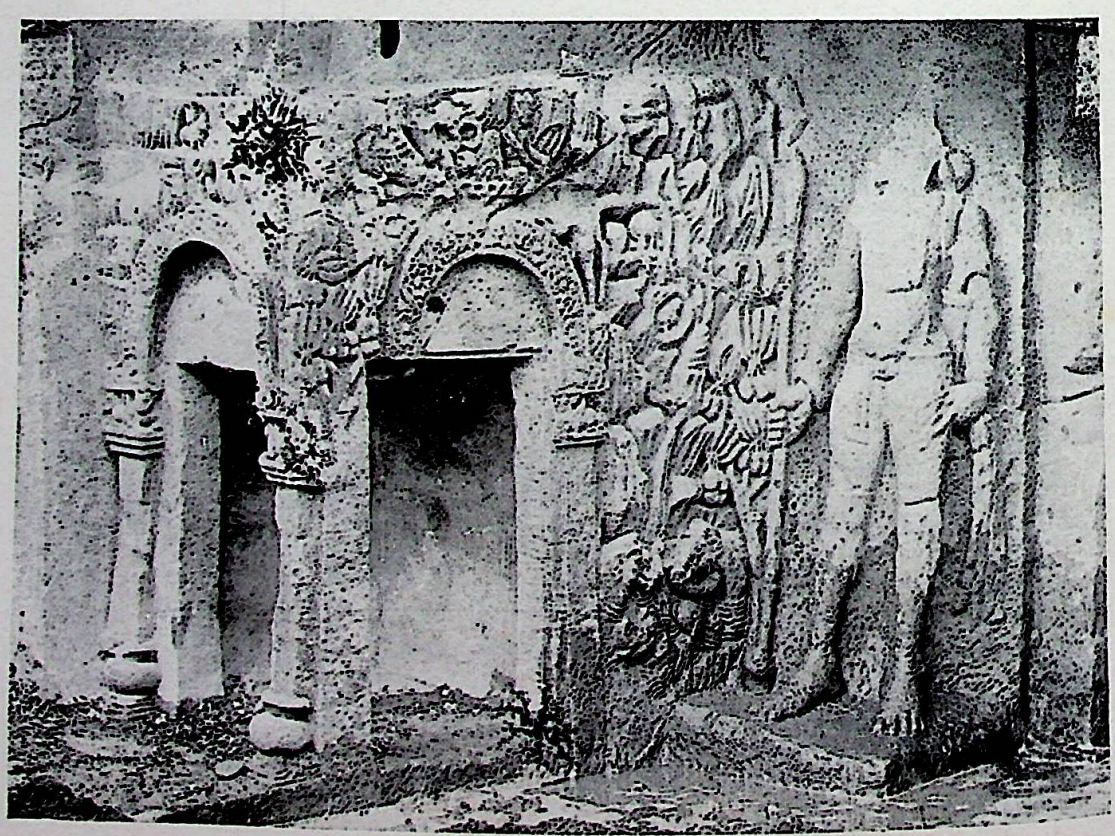

Fig. 81 Dvārapāla, Rāṇī-Gumphā, Orissa

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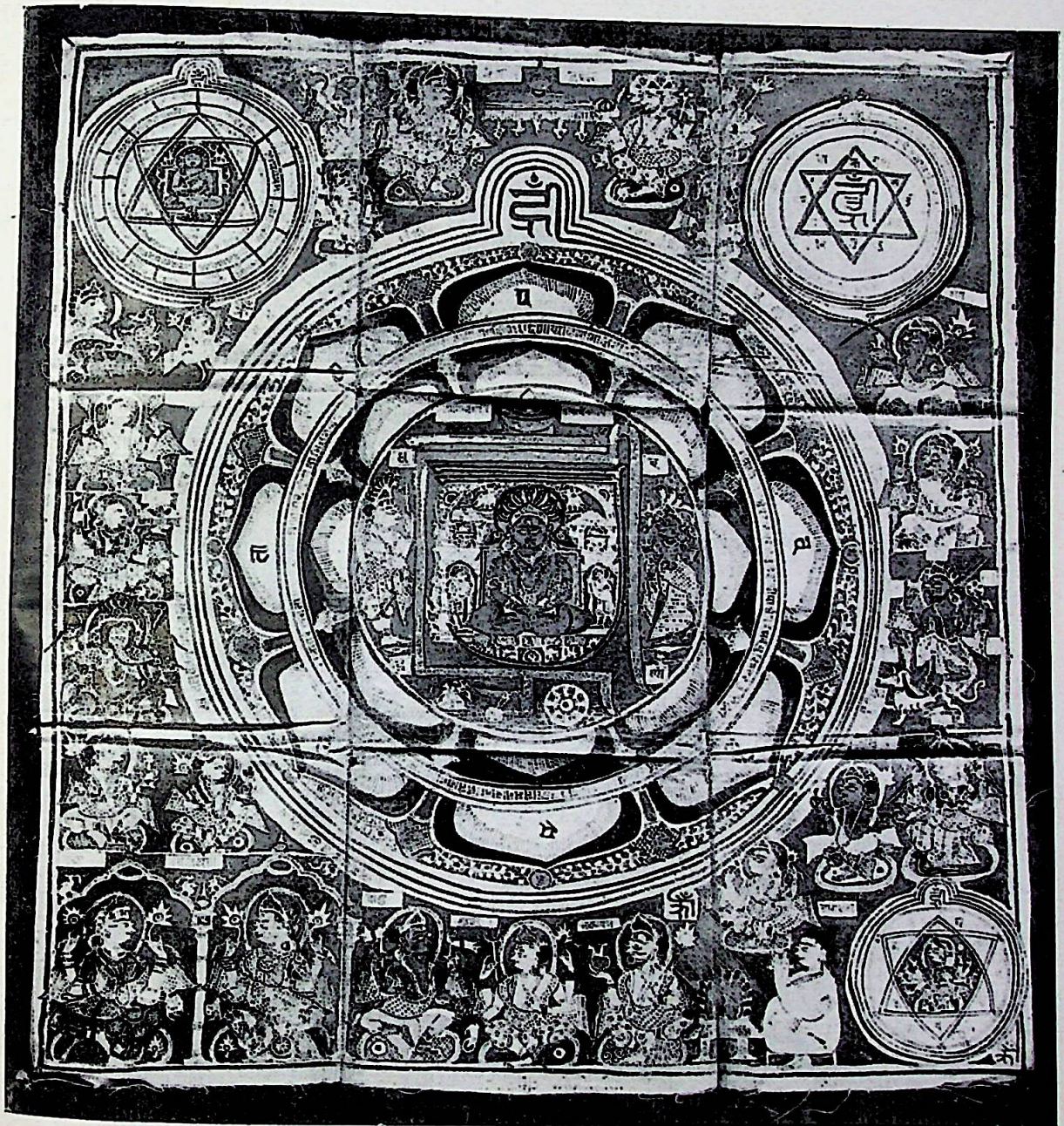

Fig. 80 Aṭṭe-Maṭṭe-Pārśvanātha-Yantra-Paṭa, Cloth, Collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji

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Plate XXXIV

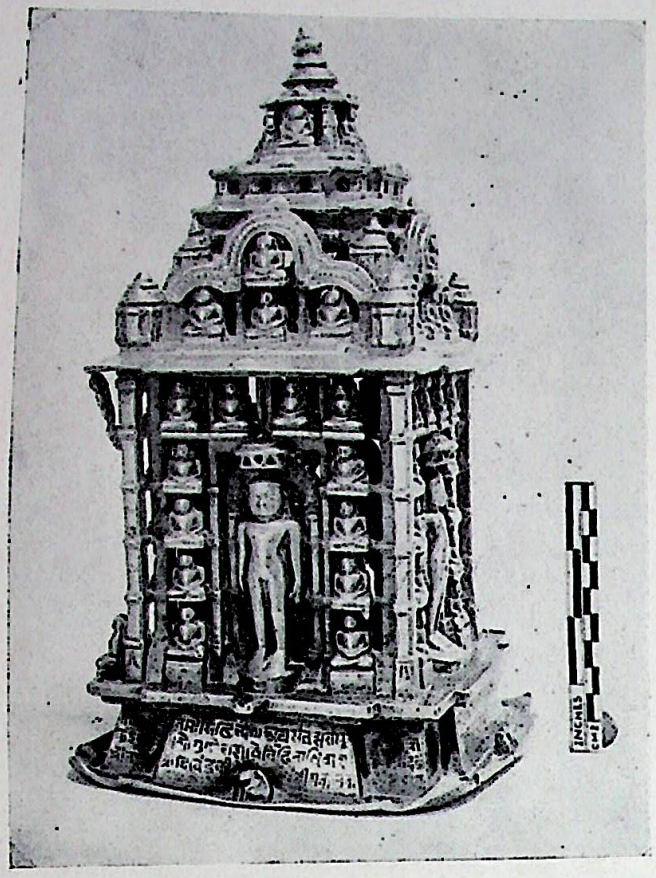

Fig. 84
Chaumukha, Bronze, Digambara Shrine, Surat

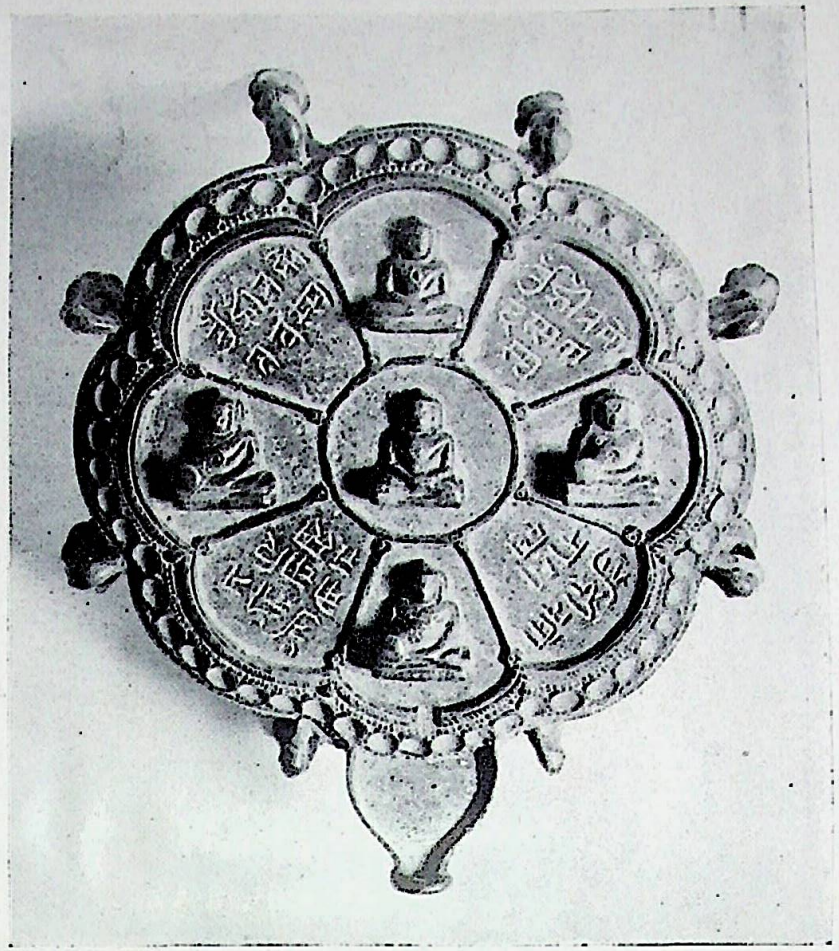

Fig. 85 Siddha-Cakra, Bronze, Baroda Museum

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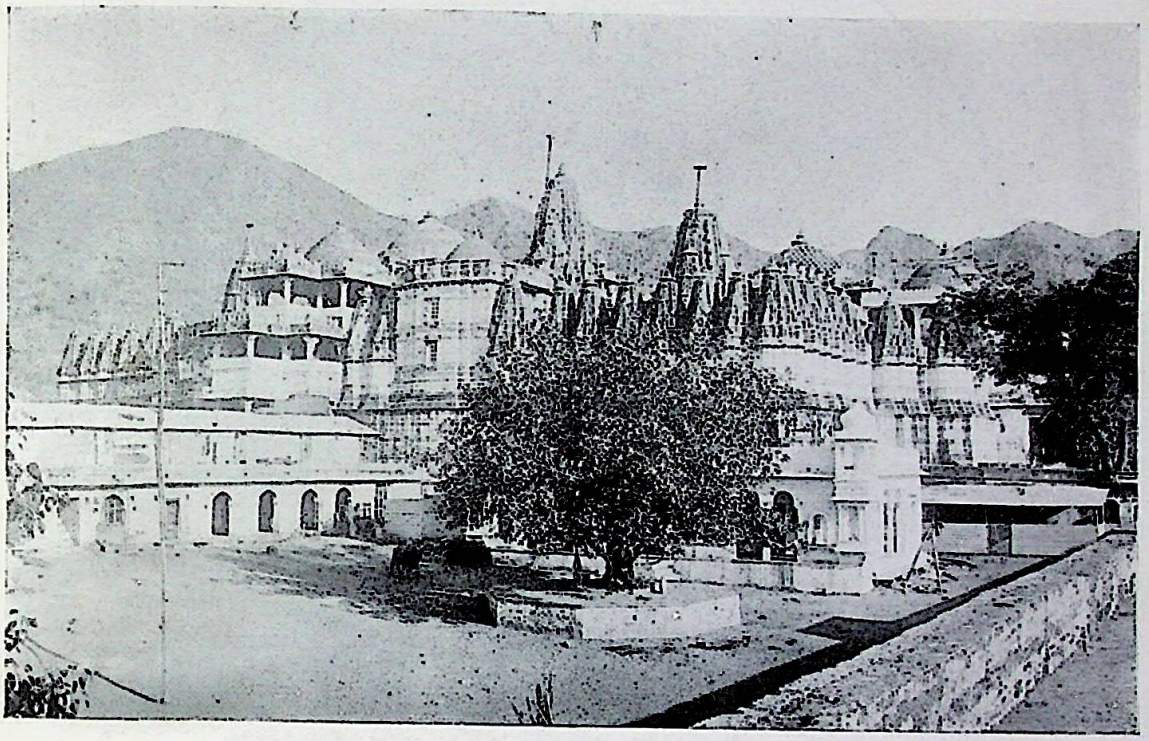

Fig. 86 Jaina Shrine, Rāṇakpur, South Rājasthān

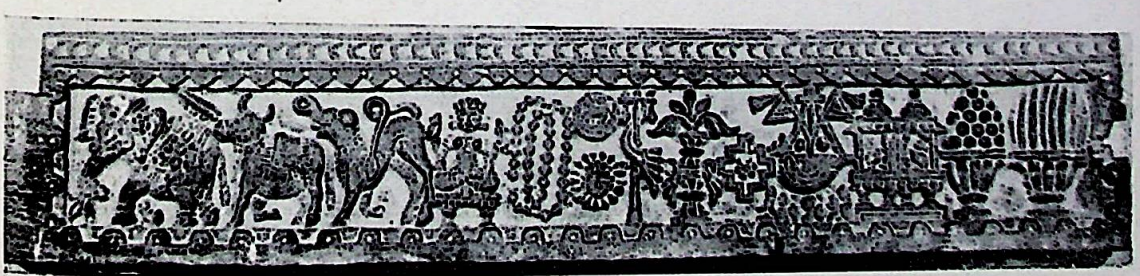

Fig. 87 Fourteen Dreams, Wooden Panel, Paṭan, North Gujarat

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Plate XXXVI

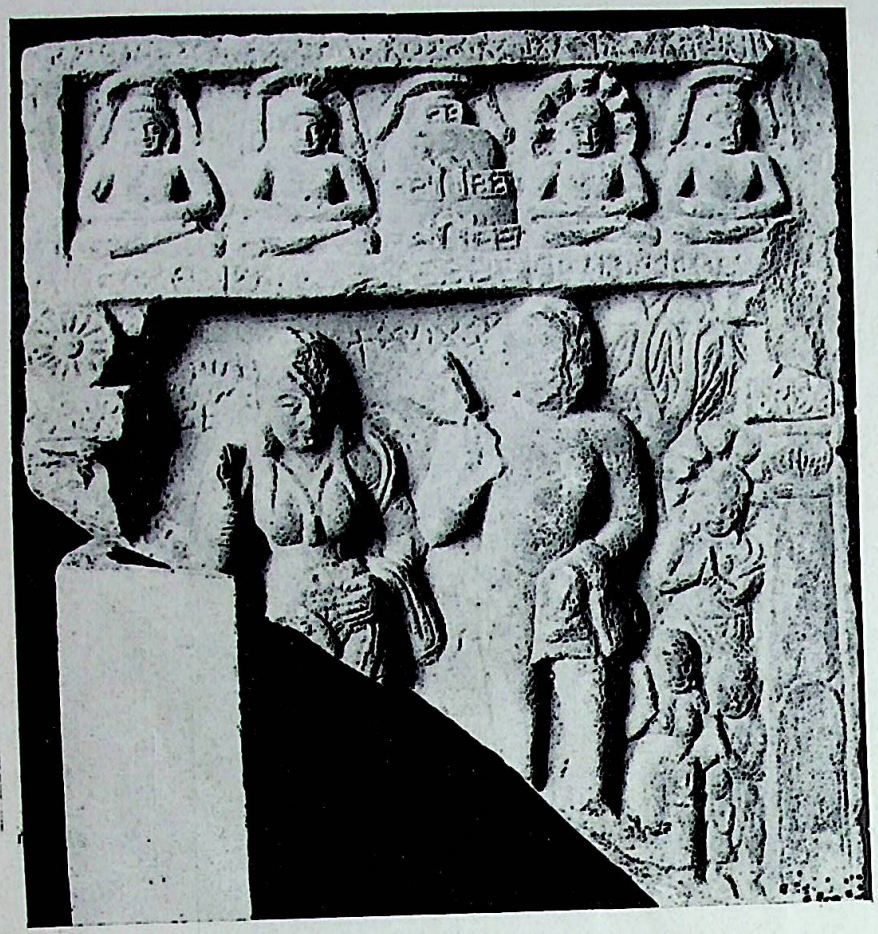

Fig. 88 Tablet of Monk Kaṇha, Mathurā, Lucknow Museum

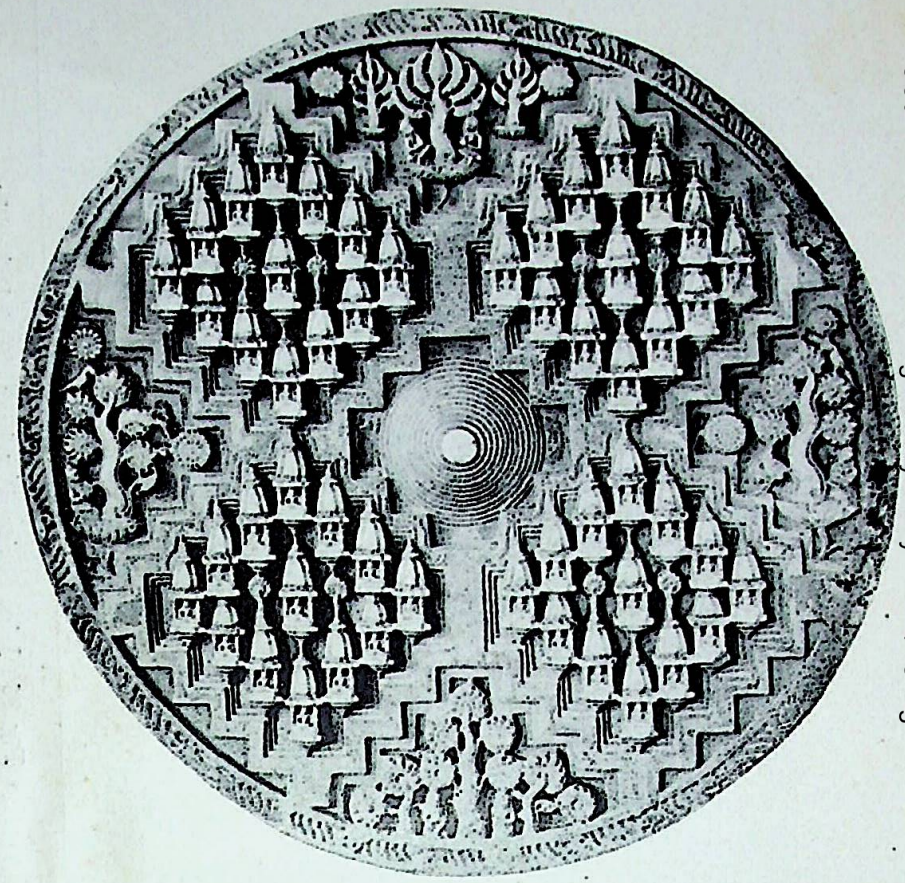

Fig. 89 Nandīśvara-dvīpa-paṭa, Rāṇakpur

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